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பாதுகாப்பு பிரிவு-1

செப்பனிடுபவர் பெயர்: கே. ஜஸ்ரி

செப்பனிடுவதற்காக எடுத்துக்-
கொள்ளப்பட்ட நாள்: 1/.08
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My blood boils when I think that the Turks have [illegible]en tre[illegible]erously made to lay down their arms. And it was for this that General Townshend resigned from the War Office. He [illegible] in one of his statements, that we did not make the Turks [illegible] down their arms by means of the sword, but they did so i[illegible] with those condkitions which the Government settled thro[illegible] me, when I was a war captive.

Gentlemen, we are quite ignorant of the terms which [illegible]le the Turks lay down their arms and so we cannot say anything about them But we can understand that the terms which the Allies are now proposing to the Turks having made them powerless and havi[illegible] surround. Constantinople with war ships, are quite different from [illegible]ose proposed at the time of the armistice.

The world shall have to admit that the Muhammadans are a self-respecting nation. Every self-respecting nation when forced to the extreme, takes up arms, so that either it may be completel[illegible] destroyed or regenerated. History tells us that when the poor Pandus being forced to the extreme, took up arms they achieved[illegible] wonders. It is strange coincidence that as the Pandus were helped by Sri Krishna of Gujerat, so we are being helped by Mahatma Gandhi of the same place.

Gentlemen, as we are on the side of truth, we rely on Divine help; God is always on the side of truth. We should remember tha[illegible] we cannot accomplish anything without making sacrifices. The sacrifice demanded at present is only a pecuniary one.

VI. Extracts from Proscribed English Books and Pamphlet by the Madras Government.

Extract from the Book "A leaflet advocating rebellion".
(Date of Proscription January 29--Year1920--G.O.No.54-55--Mis.Pub.

ENCLOSURES.
(1)

Brave Indians, Courageous Countrymen.

You have read the account of the organisation of the Provisional Government of India. It has Raja Mahendra Pratap as its President, M. Barkatullah (of Ghadr Party) as its Prime Minister, and M. Obeidullah as its Administrative Minister. Its object is to liberate India from the iron clutches of the treacherous English, and to establish indigenous Government there.

This Government of yours heard, with utmost pleasure, the news of your gallant deeds done for the noble cause of liberty. Seeing you have no arms to extirpate the enemies of India and of mankind, this Government of yours has tried and succeeded in obtaining help from without. Our Government has assured itself and made agreement as to your full freedom with the allied invading power.

Murder the English whenever you find them, cut the telegraphic lines, destroy the railway lines and the railway bridges, and help, in all respects, the liberating armies. Donèt try to lose your rights by resisting the liberating armies.

None shall be molested but who shall resist. Your properties and your homes are safe.

A. H. AZIZ,
Assistant Administrative Minister.

M. OBEIDULLAH,
Administrative Minister.

Selections from proscribed ... Proscribed Literature: English Books (1920)

V. Extracts from Proscribed English Books and Pamphlet by Government.

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Extract from the Book "Excusable Massacres and Atrocitie (Date of Proscription 18th Sep 1920--G.O.No.590-91--Mis.(Pub

Reprint from the "Gaelic American", July 3rd 1920.

EXCUSABLE MASSACRES AND ATROCITIES.

It all depends on whose ox is gored. If, for instance, Turks, wearied by years of foreign intrigue, and insurrections the Armenians, turn round and try to rid themselves of the Pe plague by killing and deportation, that makes it a crime tha to high heaven for vengeance and the end of the Turkish Empi The avenging nations, England, France, Italy and Greece, for proceed to tear it to pieces, England having appropriated th portion at the start; and Poland liberated by the Russian Re from the tyranny of Czarism, and bribed with American money material, is set upon the Russian democracy to prevent it re assistance to the Turks against the organised banditry of Eu or aiding the people of India to throw off the chains of Eng thraldom . The bought Press everywhere is put to work overt denouncing the Turks for the results of English intrigues ar provocations, and the American people, under the supposition they can be fooled all the time, are invited to accept a mar organise and restore order in an "Armenia" which does not ex a process which would include the extirpation of millions o as a race and bring about a general rising of the Moslem wo European and American domination.

Unable to undertake the task herself, because of the 70 Mohammedans in India, England has turned to Greece, which th ambition of Venizelos and the vaingloriousness of the Greeks her catspaw, and war is now on between Greece and the Turks by proxy and at a safe distance and against unarmed popul been reduced by England to a system. We see it in the the Poles and Czarist generals and admirals against d Russia, of Greeks against Turks; we saw it in the Bo unable to subdue the Boers by force of arms, their women were assembled in concentration camps and deliberately do

The bombing from airplanes or villages on the Afghan frontier, and their reduction, along with the women and children, the aged and infirm, to heaps of dust is of only recent occurrence. So was the Dyer exploit at Amritsar, in India, of unloading the ammunition of his troops into a crowd of unarmed men, women and children, leaving thousands of dead and wounded. If committed by Turks, this would have been considered and described as a massacre or an atrocity; committed by British, it was an excusable "blunder" for the preservation of the Empire, and was approved by all classes of British, civil, military, commercial, ecclesiastical and legal.

Egypt, which has been for nearly forty years the scene of continuous massacres of Egyptians by shootings, hangings and bombing from airplances, in the interest of alien high finance, is another instance of what would have been atrocities if committed by Turks, but becomes justified when the British Empire has to be preserved and the dividends of swindling finance have to be assured. That also was approved of by all classes of British, as was also the killing and executuions of thousands of natives of Nigeria, in West Africa, who, during the late war, rose against the alienation of their lands by the British. And now we learn that in East Africa the land of the natives has been expropriated by the British Government; and is being bestowed on officers in the British Army, retired since the war, forming estates after the English style, on which the now landless natives will have to work practically as slaves or starve, or be shot or hanged as rebels if they rise in protest. The former German colonies in Africa are now become fields for unlimited exploitation by alien high finance, under the protection of British and French warships, airplanes and bayonets; and a recent strike of indentured Hindu coolies on the sugar plantations in the Fiji Islands was put down by 1,500 New Zealand troops, hastily dispatched to meet the emergency.

And this is the Empire into which our venal American and Anglomaniac papers would have this Republic absorb itself in the League of Nations, devised by the notorious Covenant, which a political party

is still trying to force on this country. As The Gaelic American pointed out when the project of the Wilson League of Nations was first announced, if it over came into existence, England would be found to be the League, and the others, irrespective of their size, wealth or influence, would be merely the Nations, hangers-on of the English-directed cosmopolitanism; and any massacres or atrocities incidental to its existence would be excused and condoned by the slavish Press engaged in its service.

/Ture Copy/

(Sd.)
For Superintendent.

8 Selections from GOs relating to noncooperation and Khilafat movement
Proscribed literature:: Tamil books (1920)

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

VANDE MATARAM.

(3) G.O.No.434, dt.3-7-20, Public Department. (Mis.)

Mrs. Besant is coming to the Conference (Madura Ramnad held at Sattur). She is a tigress in a cow skin; the mischiefs perpetrated by her in that garb are incalculable.

During the movements of 1907-08 she did several acts against those movements, sought thereby the favour of Government and in the magazine of the Central Hindu College ridiculed Mr. Arabindo Ghose as a pest that was born for the ruin of India.

In 1912 she sanctioned the immoral practices of Mr. Leadbeater and in order to vindicate those practices she tried at great cost to have the judgment of the High Court reversed.

Thus her own propensities and those of her circle at Adyar came to light and one of the judges of the High Court also pronounced a verdict that she had stayed from the path of right conduct.

Having thus lost all prestige in social affairs she entered the arena of politics. Mr. Chidambaram Pillai and others then sounded a note of warning to her.

She has now proved a turncoat and is ever contradicting her own former opinions. When some men were mercilessly shot down, by the police for throwing brickbats, she declared that brick-bats were rightly replied to with the gun.

When the country as a whole set its face against the passing of the Rowlatt Bill, she said there was nothing in it that could be objected to by any right minded person.

Simply to create confusion she started a false rumour that Indians were getting pecuniary aid from Germany.

Mahatma Gandhi who is held in high esteem by the whole of India, she denounces as a lion in sheep's skin, a child

in politics, who is but preparing the way for anarchy.

How can we brook the insults to our Mahatma offered by a foreign woman who is practising deception?

Mr. Pal, our experienced patriot, has denounced her as a calumniator.

Mrs. Besant has said that Mr. Kasturiranga Ayiangar the distinguished leader of Madras, is an obstacle to the progress of India.

She has boasted that she had it in her power to send to jail Chidambaram Pillai, the leader of the Tamil country, but that she had not the heart to do it.

She is now in her last days and her intellect is undergoing decay. She now wants to attend conferences wherever they may be held with the hope of deceiving the people.

Kaparde has likenes her to the female demon in the Hindu Mythology who destroyed numberless children through her poisonous breasts. She is really going about to attend conferences, in search of patriotic children, whom she may destroy. But she has not been so far successful.

O. Demon! Beware! You are now old! You can have no power, no influence hereafter. The defeat sustained by you at Manjeri must still be fresh in your memory. Retreat to Adyar and conduct your secret dealings there.

Without delay sail bag and baggage by the first avaiable boat to your native home. Once you are away our misfortunes will vanish, our poverty will disappear, our difficulties will be over, Home rule will have been ushered in. If you really love India, do quit it. If you are not a woman with a devilish conduct, departx at once. Do not delay.

Subramania Siva

P.V. Hanumantha Rao.

Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat movement (1920-)
Proscribed literature :: Urdu books (1920)

4. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 436 Public dated 3rd July 1920.

"PUNJAB RIOTS."

Abstract translation of 'Punjab-ka-khun' Amristar part, edited by Ram Autar Shukla, published by Babu Ram Sharma, Muhalla Hatia, Cawnpore, and printed by Pandit Sidh Gopal Shukla in Bhartya Press, Cawnpore, in the year 1920. The title page has a verse on it to the effect that "Punjab is weeping on the doings of coward Dyer. The soil of Jallian is still wet with the blood of our babes" ~~First edition. Price As. 2.~~

INTRODUCTION.

When Sir William Vincent introduced Rowlatt Bill into the Council, it was strongly protested but in vain. Lord Chelmsford had already declared that it was unnecessary to pay any attention to the press. When the Bill was brought before the Council for enactment it was unanimously protested by all the leading non-official members. No Bill ever met such opposition. Had it been so for the Press Act, it would never have become a law. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had given warnings to the Government that the passingof the Bill would cause great agitation throughout the country. Mr.Banerji had also informed the Government that in case the Bill was passed he would openly set up agitation. Many of the members had submitted their resignations on the occasion but that, too, had not effect on the Government. At last the Bill was passed after undergoing certain simple modifications. It was follow by SATYAGRAHA moved by Mahatma Gandhi. Meetings were held in all parts of the country strongly protesting against the Bill and requesting the Government to repeal the Act, but the authorities ~~of the Punjab Government were~~ paid no heed to them. The 6th day of April (1919) was observed as a day of mourning throughout India. Business was suspended on that day everywhere. Farsightedness was needed on that occasion but the rulers had no quality of that sort. Sir Micheal O'Dwyer and the other authorities of the Punjab Government were all the more void of it. They gave way to their shortsightedness on arresting and deporting Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal on the 10th April 1919, which resulted in exciting the public. The latter committed several acts of violenc

such as murder, looting, setting fire to public buildings and so forth. Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to suppress the trouble but he was arrested on the way. This added fuel to the fire. Distrubance broke ~~out~~ forth in different places. The Government declared it open rebellion, and martial law was enforced to suppress it. Dyer was put in charge of the life of the armless people and repression prevailed throughout the Punjab. Several devices were made for the people, such as to stick to their houses after sunset; to salute every European soldier; to crawl on fours and to make lines with noses. Those who acted to the ~~xxxxxxx~~ contrary were flogged and were even made to bear fire on their palms. Houses were raided, the students were made to march 16 miles a day to attend roll call. The leaders were chained together and taken along the public roads. People were fired at in Jallianwala Bagh without giving them any warning to disperse. People were fired at in Jallianwala Bagh without giving them any warning to disperse. Aeroplanes bombed the innocent and armles men. Machine-guns were also used.

(Wrtten By) RAM AUTAR SHUKLA.

(Prayers to God)

The poet in the beginning, reminds God of His promises to incarnate Himself when Dharma (righteousness) would suffer in Arya Varta (India). He says that that time has approached as the weak were oppressed in the Punjab by those in power. The poet gives references of Drapadi, Grah and Basu Deo being helped by Him. He then points out ~~material~~ martial law as a "Devil" having slaughtered His creation and urges on Him to incarnate Himself in the Pubjab to relieve the sufferers of that province.

AMRISTAR PART.

When Rowlatt act was passed into law, Mahatma Gandhi moved SATYAGRAHA. On the 6th April business was suspended. The Hindus and the Moslems united to sympathize with the country and to wrok together in harmoney. The 9th April was the day of the birth celebration of Lord Rama. Dr.Kitchlew, on that occasion, asked his Mussalman brethren to take part in that Hindu's festival. He further advised them to form themselves into SEWA SAMITIS

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and to disallow the police to have any hand in the (management of) fair. The Hindus had also passed a resolution of the like nature. The Hindus and the Moslems united together to make necessary arrangements with Dr.Kitchlew at their head. Mahatma Gandhi and Dr.Kitchlew were at every one's lips. The management was even better than what police could have done. RAM NAUMI passed without the least disturbance. The Deputy Commissioner was much puzzled at this. On the 10th April 1919, he got Drs.Kitchlew and Satyapal arrested under Indian Defence Act at 10 a.m. and motored them to cantonment. When the news of their arrest reached the city the public was aggrieved and proceeded to see the Deputy Commissioner. The way to the civil lines was across the bridge where army was ready in full equipment. When the people reached the centre of the bridge, they were fired upon and many men were killed. The mob being thus astonished and terrified retreated from that place and took to their heels to save their lives but were strongly chased by the bullets. In the course of flight about five or ten were killed. Bikram, the brave, also lay dead. The crowd seeing helpless to save their lives, forced their way into the National Bank, put fire to the godown, the post office was ablaze, the properties within the churches were seen burning; railway station, too, was put to fire, about two or four Europeans were killed on the way. This was all done on the 10th April 1919. The Hindus attended the Muhammadans burial ceremonies and the latter too did the same in the case of former.

Early morning on the 13th April 1919, notices were circulated in the city to the effect that a public meeting would be held on that day in the Jallianwala Bagh. On the very day it was announced on drums by the Government that nobody should go to attend it as it was a forbidden one. The public in their turn, openly declared that the meeting was sure to beheld at that very place and the Government's announcement on drums had no effect whatsoever on that point.

As early as 2 p.m. the garden was overcrowded and it had only four exits. It was surrounded on all four sides with high walls. Lala Hansraj was elected secretary. The portrait of

13 23

Dr.Kitchlew was placed to honour the presidential seat. The proceedings commenced. Resoultions were moved protesting against the misdeeds of the authorities and the whole assembly, seeing itself helpless, was weeping. The prudent men were delivering their lectures and the audience was wholly immersed in listening to them. None of them even dreamt that some mishap was impending or that coward Dyer would arrive there to slay them. Immediately arrived there military force from the west door with full arms and opened fire on them as if they were their enemies, the Germans. Machine-gunds were also used against the armless (defenceles) people. Those who had given men and money in the last war with the Germans were awarded with bullets at their hearts in return. Some people, besmeared with blood, began to fly away, some were fatally wounded and were found groaning, some men even left their children to save their lives and pity it was that friends were murdered in the presence of their very friends. The blood gushed out of their wounds in so large a quantity as filled up ditches in the garden. The struggling souls were crying for water but even then the merciless people did not cease their cruel operation. The people sacrificed their lives for their motherland and xx thus they left a permanent record in the annals of the world. For centuries to come the redness of blood on the land would not disappear and the story of injustice done to them would continue for hundreds of years. Even the babes were shot down and their bodies bore testimony of many bullets. The dying people were lying in various states. some were even lying in the well. It was estimated about four thousands to have been slaughtered on the spot. Some said that 500 were killed and some held that the number reached 1,500. No definite number assertained.

TAKEN FROM THE "PARTAP".

The men were murdered and dealt with by merciless people. The land is still wet with the blood of the children which was the result of the Dyer's tyranny and madness. None knew that bullets would be showered on them in compensation of their money and men and other obligations. One could read the deeds of the civi-

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lized nation written with blood in the Jallianwala Bagh. The Indians were neither Germans, Afghans, nor the mutineers. They had not arms even and so they were not to be feared at. The Indian children were much oppressed and hardly dealt with. Curse on their valour that they opened fire on ~~him~~ them. Even the world would contemptuously look down on the deeds of such a nation.

(composed by) MADHO SHUKLA.

There was no bravery. Dyer shouldnote if he killed helpless men. Those brave children were not killed. They are still alive and say openly that there was no bravery in killing them. They were all defenceless and never dreamt of the fear of death. He shed the blood of the brave martyrs of the Punjab. The men, even with handcuffs on, were tortured.

(composed by) GHULAB.

The widows were weeping in separation of their husbands who had lost their lives in the Jallianwala Bagh. While thus mourning, they used to say to their decesased husbands that they made their houses lonely and themselves enjoying the pleasures of heaven. Note.--In few stanzas are given the descriptions of the mourning of the widowed ladies of the Punjab and then proceeds thus:--

The 14th April was a pitiable day when the respectable persons were arresfted and sent to jail. The innocent persons were badly treated by the police and the rich men were apprehended and made to pay big sums to them (police).

On the 15th April, Devil Martial Law was proclaimed. The police on the carriages of the public were patrolling the road. The men had to salute every European. None was allowed to pass with an umbrella on. If the people forgot saluting, they were flogged on the spot by the Government officials. Only five men were allowed to accompany a dead body and hence it was very troublesome to them to get the corpse to the burial ground.

Notices were posted in the city to prohibit the people from coming out of their houses between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m., whoever attempted to go out during that period was dealt with under martial law. Innocent people, who were in lock-up along with

15 27

the guilty, were caned when they begged for water. They had their handcufs on for 16 days and were never removed even when attending the calls of nature or when sleeping. The officers were not good enough to allow them to ease at their lesiure, even in the very nick of their emergency for that purpose they were forced to return. They had to run daily in the evening and those who were left behind were caned. Thus the people had to suffer much under the oppressive law. Many were hanged and many were transported for life. Some fainted on being flogged. In some cases flogging and capital punishment were given together.

The leaders should direct their attention towards that narrow street where Miss Sherwood was assaulted. There 18 European soldiers patrolled that lane with rifles. Every age had to crawl on fours and whenever anyone raised a bit, he was kicked by the soldiers. It was all in retaliation to the services they had rendered in the German war. Such deeds stained their civilization as the wicked are ever condemned in the world.

When the market was all closed under the fear of injustice, Chaudhri Ratan Bugga opened LANGAR-KHANA in all streets through the volunteers. When the authorities came to know of this they sentenced him. The European soldiers commanded by European officers accompanied by two police sub-inspectors marched to the house of Bugga in a way as if they were going to a German fort. They broke down the doors and entered in. There a servant of his (Bugga) was sleeping inside, he was asked to give the trace of Bugga under the threat of death with pistol. He was terrified and told them he was quite ignorant where Bugga was. They should search his house to find if he was sleeping in. The servant was arrested then and there and the house was searched. Bugga's wife was sleeping upstairs, she was threatened with rifles to point the place where her husband Bugga was. The lady was startled at their appearance but recovering herself she told them that she knew nothing of him. The house was at their disposal, they could search it out to find him in it. She was dragged downstairs and her house searched. Europe was proud of her civilization but it was altogether astonishing that a lady was

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treated in that way. Meanwhile Bugga arrived there, he asked them who-m they were searching for. The officer in com and told him that he wanted Bugga. The latter admitted that he was himself SATYAGRAHI Bugga. They would arrest him and he yielded to them.

The Punjabis were thus arrested and were sentenced to death or transportation without their cases being well inquired into.

In the end the poet invokes God to do justice to the people who were dealt with in that way by General Dyer and says that that was the general catastrophe in the Punjab but Amristaar was to suffe the most. He finishes his poem with a promise to the readers that he would publish the accounts of Lahore also.

Extracts from GOs relating to NCO and Khilafat movt. in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed Literature) (1920-19 (1920)

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MAK [~~be it violent or non-violent". Mr. Iyengar is no way disassociates himself from the Communist's fundamental tenet that the objects of communism can only be attained by mass violence. He has consistently attacked the Gandhian philosophy of Non-violence.~~]

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15. G.O. No. 444--5 Public Confidential dated 7-7-1920-

The following are the extracts from two issues of the seditious newspaper "A call from the unknown" for 27th February 1920 and 8th March 1920.

"This newspaper is sent gratis and free of charge to every province and city in India, more especially to all lovers of country and the nation. Its price is only this much that our country may listen most attentively to the Nida-i-Ghaib and may prepare themselves for a joint effort to obtain liberty. It is the duty of those lovers of country and the nation who get this newspaper to show it to other national brethren and it should be destroyed before the officers of the tyrannical Government can get hold of it. Its object is to unite all people in thought for liberty".

In place of the name of the press and the printer and publisher, the following line is inserted:--

"Published by the seekers of liberty from the centre of liberty in India." The leading article in the issue of 27th February 1920 covers nearly two pages and begins as under:--

THE CRUSADE

"It is no longer a secret now that the Allied Kingdoms, especially the English, are fully determined and have made complete preparations to obliterate Muhammadans, their religion and their customs from the surface of this world like a wrong word from the page of a book. They not only want to rule on this earth, but in their capacity of upholders of Christianity and supporters of the Christian faith they desire to annihilate regularly the very name and trace of Islam after a final and decisive crusade with Muhammadans. They have been quite satisfied as to the result of this war and they are sure that it can end like the crusades of the middle ages, namely, with no decisive result. The reasons for this is that they have successfully passed through nearly all the stages of the war and it is only the nature of the result and its expression that is awaited"..........

"O! sons of Islam! is it even now the time for you to take rest and sleep, when the enemies of Islam after having taken possession of your country and your wealth, your honour and your Government have now determined to destroy your existence and your religion and community. Do you know what means the enemies of Islam want to use to ruin the Great Khilafat. Are you not aware that the enemies of Islam have taken possession of your holy places and the 'Atbats'."

The topic next taken up is Hindu-Muslim unity and it is remarked:--

"The Hindus, your fellow countrymen, are with you in your sorrow and grief and they are since long struggling to gain liberty being tired of the atrocities of this coercive Government..................

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"How are only a handful of Englishmen ruling over India? Simply through taking an advantage of the lack of stamina in you and your disunion, otherwise what are they and what is their real value. They derive benefit through your country and your riches and then rule over you and in a manner whereby your position gets even worse than that of slaves"......................

"HOW TO GET RID OF IT"

"Do you think that their troops, their stores of ammunition, their fire weapons are sufficient to maintain the coercive rule in your country? Certainly not! they can do nothing without your aid and co-operation

. . . .

"Although they have their troops but you should take into account your own troops as well how much more are they in numbers. Do you not consider Indian troops to be your own troops-- they are no other than you--A joint struggle of all is needed to gain this object and to arrange for this is our first and foremost aim. Our Indian troops cannot stand aside from us and without their support our work will remain defective".

Then follows a very strong appeal to all Indians to throw off this yoke of slavery and then Bolshevism is described as a divine help and their doctrines and principles--to help the oppressed and to support the weak in getting for them their birth right liberty--are highly praised. The whole article is full of exhortations and in most open and strong language advocates a revolution against Government.

In the end we find :-

"O! Indian Muhammadans, it is now your turn--you have, by the grace of God, a number of 7 crores and you have 25 crores Hindus to back you up. You should stand up with a very strong determination--there is no time for delay or laziness. Be on the look out for the hint and as soon as you get an opportunity, dart at once on your opponents. You can bury them under big heaps of earth if you throw at them even an handful of dust each. How many are they in numbers and what is their existence? A strong determination and manly courage are, however, the things that are needed. As regards the work that you shall have to do, a chart will shortly be placed before you all at once. You should only have a firm resolution, be ready to do everything and wait for the time".

--

8th March 1920.

The path of Salvation.

"The history of the world tells us that whenever a nation has overcome and possessed other countries and nations and founded a permanent reign with a satisfactory success in its intentions, the chain of causes and effects has been similar in all cases at all times and places. Such a consistency is observed in different cases that they appear to be the links of a single system.................."

The article then goes on discussing the philosophy of the rise and fall of nations. Coming to a concrete

instance, it takes the case of the English. It says "Look at the English, at this time and consider over their situation. Both with respect to the principles of rule and duties of humanity, they have reached that stage which forms the last steps of a ruling nation. Overvaluing themselves unduly, they consider their strength to be unlimited. The intoxication of 'Pharoahism' has permeated their brains. National pride, hatred towards other and religious prejudice are present in them to the highest degree. Their oppression and coercion and hard measures on the subjects have reached their extremes. Therefore all the governed nations are, without a single exception, deeply afflicted and disgusted of life. In short, nature has, at present, provided all those causes which result in the extippation of the tree of Government. A light puff of the vicissitudes of fortune is now required to put an end to them".

Further the article describes how all the Muhammadan countries of the world are undergoing bitter pain at the hands of the English who are determined to ruin Islam. It points out the sad condition of India, Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor and mentions about the atrocities which the English perpetrated in the Muslim countries passed through by their armies. The reason of this courage on the part of the English, the article attributes to the negligence of Muhammadans themselves. It now asks the latter whether they would save Islam or indulge or in their so-called personal safety. While referring to the promises of Government, it says, "Do you trust in their coined principles and false laws by means of which they have kept all the governed nations in the

illusion of religious freedom? Did the deceitful and treacherous officials, rather the Government herself, not promise with you that they would never include the holy places and 'Atbat' in the circle of the war? But how far this promise has been stood by, the whole world knows. Don't you know who, at the present time, controls all your holy places? Those promises were only an imposture to serve the time". The article urges Muhammadans to be prepared to sacrifice their lives in defence of Islam. In order to produce a deep effect, it quotes the example of Ebrahim from the history of Islam. Enough of cries and lamentations has been resorted to; it is time now, it says, to do some practical work. Accordingly it remarks, "The wolves of Jesus who have put on the skin of the white sheep in order to cheat the world, cannot help their innate propensities and inborn habits. Their greedy eyes are always fixed on the weaker peoples. The most favourite food of a wolf is man, and the goats and sheep. When it comes across such food, is it possible that this ferocious beast should take mercy on their cries and lamentations and appeals and entreaties. Quite impossible and absolutely unnatural. It has only one remedy and that has always proved useful. A thousand cries, a million appeals and unlimited entreaties are all in vain. But--

'a lead bullet weighing three tolas'

is a real, effectual, tried and reliable medicine. This fierceness has always been overcome by this magic. This incantation has always hit the mark"

At another place it says, "You have been told to throw off the yoke of these tyrannous and cruel hearted

usurpers (the English) from your necks. This is the very way of protecting the faith and serving the nation and country.

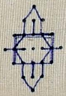
When you struggle here and start agitation, they will wake up and their eyes will be opened. But then they will have lost the game and their grip on Turkey will have loosened...

It goes on like this, inciting the readers in different ways.

It ends as under:-

"The enemies of Islam consider that this is the last stru--gle between the crescent and the cross in which the latter will over come the former for ever and this will be knocked down for good. They also know that the sons of Islam will not refrain from struggles and sacrifices of any kind and they regard such actions on our part to be merely fanatical but all the same through their wakefulness and far-sight they are quite ready to defend themselves. The time is, no doubt, critical and precarious but you should trust in God and be sincere and true. He will help you, remove your diff-culties and pave the path for you.

"There is no help from me, but from God".



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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO and Khilafat movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature

Abstract of the G.O.

("The Punjab Riots" - Forfeiture - Ordered.)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.436(Confidential)dated 3-7-1920,Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited an Hindi Pamphlet entitled "The Punjab Riots".

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Abstract of the G.O.

("Invisibixkcible India" - Forfeited - Ordered).

REFERENCE:-- G.O.No.467-68 (Confidential) dated 24-7-1920.

Public Department.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited an english Pamphlet entitled "Invisicible India" issued by the Hindustan Ghadr Party San Francisco California.

20

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.O.S. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1920)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(English leaflet - forfeitued - Government of Madras)

REFERENCE:-- G.O.No.54,(Confidential) dated 29-1-1920

Public Department.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a leaflet in English advocating rebellion, issued by the Administrative department, Provisional Government of India.

27

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed Literature 1920)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Urdu leaflet - Objectionable - forfeited - Madras Government.)

Reference:- G.O.No.92 (Confidential)dated 13-2-1920, Public Dep

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The Government of Madras declared forfeited a leaflet in Urdu advocating rebellion.

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53

EXTRACT FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non Co operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1920)

Abstract of the G.O.

(Khilafat question offered at the Lucknow Mosque - Forfeitued - Ordered)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.384 (Confidential) dated 8-6-1920. Public Dept

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The Government of Madras declared forfeited a prayer in Urdu in the Khilafat question offered at the Lucknow Mosque on 19th March 1920.

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29 55

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1920)

Abstract of the G.O.

(Speech of Shaikh Munshi - Declared - Forfeited.)

REFERENCE:- G.O. No.388-84 (Confidential)dated 1066-1920.

Public Department.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited the speech delivered by Shaikh Munshi Husain Gidwai at the oudh Khilafat conference on 1st May 1920.

80

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EXTRACT FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 1920)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Khilafat Conference at Calcutta - Gujarate Leaflet - Forfeitued - Government of Madras.)

REFERENCE:-- G.O.No.572,(Confidential) dated 10-7-1920, Public Department.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a Gujarate leaflet entitled "Khilafat Conference at Calcutta"

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1920

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Urdu Poems - Forfeited - Madras Government.)

REFERENCE:- 504 (Confidential) dated 7-8-1920, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book of Urdu Poems published from Karachi by Eurfanaly and Abdul Ghani.

32

61

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1920)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Urdu Pamphlet - Forfeited - declared - Government of Madras.)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No. 541 (Confidential) dated 24-8-1920, Public Department.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited an Urdu Pamphlet circulated with the Ithhad - I - Mashrigi an Afghan newspaper.

33

63

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1920)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Speech by E.De valera - Forfeited - ordered.)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.620 (Confidential) dated 27-9-1920, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a book containing speeches made by E.De Valera on India and Ireland.

34

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1920)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("British Terror in India and "Labour Revolt in India" Pamphlets - forfeited - declared - Government of Madras.)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.627 (Confidential) dated 29-9-1920 Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited x Pamphlets entitled "British Terror in India" and "Labour Revolt in India".

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35

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 19..)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Khilafat" - Urdu Leaflet - Forfeited 0 Ordered)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.629(Confidential)dated 29-9-1920, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a leaflet in Urdu entitled "Khilafat".

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 192

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Urdu leaflet - objectionable - declared - forfeited.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.639,(Confidential)dated 4-10-1920,Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a leaflet in Urdu entitled "The First and Foremost way of charity for the cause of God" published from Rangoon.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925 (Associated literature 1920)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Muslim outlook' - Forfeitued - Government of Madras)

REFERENCE:-- G.O.No.653 (Confidential) dated 7-10-1920, Public Department.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a newspaper entitled "Muslim outlook" published by Islamic information Bureau, London.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 25.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1920)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(English leaflet - objectionable - forfeited - declared.)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.688,(Confidential)dated 26-10-1920 Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited the following newspapers and leaflets. (1) The Sinn Feiner (2) Soviet Russia published in New York (3) Daily Herald Published in London and (4) in English entitled "British Barbarities in India".

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non Cooperation & Khilafat Movement (1920 to 1925)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1920)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Urdu Leaflet - objectionable - forfeited)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.731,(Confidential) dated 16-11-1920 Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a leaflet in Urdu entitled "A general notice to Indian forces" issued by the military department of the provisional Government of India.

40

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 & 1925.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 1921)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Urdu Pamphlet - Forfeited - Ordered - Government of Madras.)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No69, (Confidential)dated 11-2-1921 Public Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a Pamphlet in Urdu entitled "November 1st the anniversary of the Ghadr Party".

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(4) Extracts from G.O.s relating to NCO and Khilafat movement in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed Literature) (1921) (1920-192

Mcrk. G.O.NO. 312, dated 19-5-1921, Confidential Public.

The follwoing are the extracts from the Proscribed journal "Muslim outlook" dated 16th September 1920.

Mahatma Gandhi addressed a letter to the His Excellency the Viceroy renouncing the Kaisir I Hind God Medal granted to him for his humanitarian work in South Africa and other medals: The following isthe te text of his letter:-"It is not without a paying that I xxxxxxreturn the Kaisir-i-Hind gold Medal granted to me by your predecessor for my humanitarian work in South Africa for, the Zulu War medal granted in South Africa for my services as officer-in-charge of Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps in 1906 and the Boer War medal for my services as Assistant Superintendent of Indian Volunteer Stretcher Bearer corps during the Boer War of 1899-00. I venture to return those medals in pursuance of the scheme of non-co-operation inaugurated today in connection with the Khilafat movement. Valauable as these honours have been to me, I cannot wear them with an easy conscience so long as my Muslim countrymen have to labour under the wrong done to their religious sentiment. Events that have happened during the past month have confirmed me in the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, immoral and injust manner and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such a Government. The attitude of the Imperial and your Excellency's Governments in the Punjab question has given me additional course for grave dissatisfaction; I had the honour as your excellency is aware, as one of the Congress Commissioners to investigate the causes of disorders in the Punjab during April of 1919, and it is my deliberate conviction that Sir Michael O'Dwyer (P.T.O.)

was totally unfit to hold the office of Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and that his policy was primarily responsible for infuriating the mob at Amritsar. No doubt the mob excesses were unpardonable. Incendiarism murder of five innocent Englishmen, and the cowardly assault on Mis Sherwood were most deplorable and uncalled for, but the punitive measures taken by General Dyer, Colonel Frank, Johnson, Col.O'Brecien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Shri Ram Sud, Mr. Malik Khan, and other officers were out of all proportion to the crime of the people and amounted to wanton cruelty and inhumanity almost unparalleled in modern times. Your Excellency's light hearted treatment of official crime. Your exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer; Mr. Montagu's despatch and above all, the shameful ignorance of the Punjab events and callous disregard of feeling betrayed by the House of Lords have filled me with gravest misgivings regarding the future of the Empire, have estranged me completely from the present Government and have disabled me from tendering as I have hitherto whole-heartedly tendered, my loyal co-operation. In my humble opinion the ordinary method of agitating my way of petitions, deputations and the like is no remedy for moving to repentence a Government. So helplessly indifferent to the welfare of its charge as the Government of India has proved itself to be. In European Countries such grievous wrongs as the Khilafat and the Punjab would have resulted in bloody revolution by the people. They would have resisted at all cost national emasuculation such as the said wrongs imply, but half of India is too weak to offer violent resistance and the ~~otaer~~ other half is unwilling to do so. I have ventured to suggest the remedy of Non-co-operation,

which enables those who wish to disassociate themselves from Government and which if it is unattended by violence and undertaken in an ordered manner, must compel it to retrace its steps and undo the wrays committed. But, whilst I shall pursue the policy of non-co-operation in so far as I can carry the people with me, I shall not lose hope that you will yet see your way to do justice. I therefore respectfully ask your Excellency to summon a conference of recognised leaders of the people and in consultation with them find a way that would placate the Mussalmans and do reparation to unhappy Punjab".

The following is an extract from "Muslim outlook" dated 14-10-1920.

We were able to note in these columns expressions of our astonished admiration of the wholehearted manner in which awakened India was doing her duty in pursuance of her pledges which she had recently made to her conscience. Fresh evidences are pouring in showing the determined attitude of Hindus and Muslims of light and learning on this grave responsibility. We are confident that this evidence--besides showing India's faith in herself--will silence effectively the voice of cowardice and that of conceit. Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao writes to the Press from Tanjore, under date September 12:--

Sir,--I have from the beginning stood out for the repeal of the Reform Act as the Act will only strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy and hinder our obtaining full autonomy. Non-Co-operation would be the only means of attaining this object. The resolution that I am

concerned with is the one relating to the boycott of Councils. This advises all congressmen to boycott the Councils. In the face of this resolution I have no option but to withdraw my candidature for the Indian Legislative Assembly for which I had been recommended by the Madras Provincial Congress Committee.

I apologise to the voters, a considerable body of whom had signified their preference for me and had promised their votes.

Mr. K.V. Jambunatha Iyer, B.A., B.L., Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Trichinopoly, writes:-

In obedience to the mandate of the Calcutta special Congress which is binding on all Nationalists and Congressmen, I have the honour to withdraw my candidature for election to the Madras Legislative Council to represent the urban group of Trichinopoly cum Srirangam Municipalities.

Mr. V. Lakshminarayana, of Guntur, writes under date September 11:-

At the time of the Guntur District Conference, I announced that I would withdraw my candidature for the Local Legislative Council if the Special Congress adopted the resolution on Non-Co-operation. In pursuance of the resolution of the Congress, I hereby withdraw my candidature.

Mr. S. Subrahmanya Nayanar, Pleader, Sattur, writes:-

I fully agree with the views of Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai in preserving the national character of the National

Congress and with that of Mahatma Gandhi in the resolution on Non-Co-operation and withdraw my candidature to the Madras Legislative Assembly as the first step in that direction.

Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiar, Barrister-at-Law, Salem, writes:--

I regret I have not been able to communicate my decision to the numerous friends who have been extending their generous support in my candidature for the local Legislative Council. Now that the National Assembly has decided against entering the Councils, I definitely withdraw my candidature, and while thanking my supporters for their proffered help, I would humbly request them (and other voters in my district) not to go to the polls at all.

The following Mussulman lawyers of Bengal have suspended practice in accordance with the Non-co-operation programme and will devote the whole time for Khilafat work: Four brothers, Mohmed Yasin, vakil, Burden, Syed Abdul Samad, vakil, Burhampur, Syed Abdul Majid Mukhtar Rampurhat, Syed Mohamed Hossein, Mukhtar Sur, District Birdhoom, Mohammed Shamsuddin Ahmad, B.L., vakil, High Court, Kushtia, District Nadia, and Chaudhri Mohammad Esa Alig, vakil, High Court, Calcutta.

Several other well-known Mussulman lawyers of Bengal will shortly announce suspension of practice.

Moulvi Najmuddin Ahmad Sahib, retired Deputy Magistrate, has resigned his honorary Presidency Magistracy.

The Mussulmans of Bangalore have withdrawn their children from Government or aided schools and started a Muslim National School in pursuance of the Khilafat programme.

The following is an extract from "Muslim Outlook" dated 21-10-1920.

SITUATION IN INDIA:

Present outlook.

The news from India is getting more and more serious. An impartial observer, Mr. Flazier Hunt, cables from day to day to his paper, the "Chicago Tribune", of Paris, the changing condition of the Indian situation. On October 11 his opening remark was, "British rule in India is facing bad days". He further added, "The fact is that the whole foundation of British rule in India and the whole present-day structure of India life is being eaten away by revolution". Constitutional agitation, the spirit of a bloodless and disciplined revolution is a healthy sign of life in a country. What is dangerous is the feeling of bitterness or hatred if that permeates the masses against any class or race or government in the country. Unfortunately in India the same feeling of bitterness is developing at a very rapid rate which we see in Ireland to-day. The special correspondent of the "Times" himself cabled lately that "the public resentment was high", and "the anti-British feeling was strong." Mr. Hunt also cables that "the bitterness against Britain is strong." The question now arising in the mind of every thoughtful person is what are those responsible for the Government of India going to do?

THE TWO WAYS.

There are two ways before Mr. Montagu--or before the British Cabinet--because the root cause of the agitation and bitterness in India is the Turkish settlement, which Mr. Montagu himself did not like, but which has been forced upon him by headstrong members of the Cabinet. One to sit still, consider the Turkish Treaty as a settled fact as was the Curzonian Partition of Bengal for two long and bitter years, that brought anarchy into existence in India, and let the bitterness against Britain run its natural course, then to come down with the policy of relentless repression and reprisals. The second course is to take the whole matter in hand before it gets too late--i.e., without a moment's delay to come into personal touch with Indian leaders to find a formula or prescription to stop the progress of the bitterness. In politics blind obstinacy and obtuseness both are crimes. It will not pay Britain to be obstinate in the matter of the Turkish treaty, and to wreck the British Empire in the East in order to help Venizelos to establish his position in his own country or to allow an increase of about 52 per cent. of the population under Greek rule which no Muslim can tolerate, as has been more than once proved by the exodus of Muslims from all those Turkish territories which fell into the hands of Greeks--Thessaly, Salonika, Crete, etc. It will not pay Britain to exasperate the Indian masses to an extent as to force them to take up the destructive schemes of non-co-operation and boycott instead of working for reforms because of an obstinate persistence in not adequately punishing those who committed or condoned unprecedented butcheries upon Indians in the Punjab and elsewhere, Kacha Garhi included.

MR. MONTAGU'S RESPONSIBILITY.

We loathe to say a word against Mr. Montagu because we have reason to believe that he endeavoured for a long time to impress upon other members of the British Cabinet that it will be disastrous to ignore or outrage the united voice of India in respect of the Turkish settlement. Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, Moderates, Home Rulers, Congressmen and extremists--one and all through their leaders and Press made it quite clear that they were all united on this one point--that the Turkish Empire should not be maliciously dismembered, nor the position of the Muslim sovereign destroyed. We know that it is not Mr. Montagu's fault it the worst possible treaty with Turkey, in complete defiance of the united protest of India and the whole Muslim world, has been inflicted upon it. Turkey as an independent State, and Khalifa-Sultan as a ruling sovereign, have ceased to exist. The Turks have been left no real authority, either administrative, or financial, or judicial, over even that remnant of their Empire which is said to have been left to them. But it is not Mr. Montagu's doing. We also do not lose sight of the fact that Mr. Montagu has shown a desire for the betterment of the government of India, which is second to that of no other responsible Englishman. We realise that he has as his colleagues men who almost lost India to England, and that perhaps he has received a serious warning from his Chief after the Commons and Lords debates on Dyerism that he will not let Mr. Montagu jeopardise his position as the Premier. In spite of all these considerations for Mr. Montagu we cannot but urge upon him

him that the constitutional responsibility of all the mismanagement of Indian affairs, even of all the butcheries and oppression, falls upon his shoulders, and if India becomes another Ireland, which it is fast becoming under his regime, he will not escape from very strong condemnation at the bar of justice. Either he should move the Cabinet to be reasonable and just or non-co-operate with them in their obstinate policy, which cannot but bring chaos in ~~the~~ India and accentuate the sufferings of millions upon millions of people. It is true that it will not be possible to find among the Englishmen a better Secretary of State for India, but no man of conscience and honour can be a party or accessory to a policy which deliberately disturbs the peace and happiness of a mass of millions of people and goads them on to exasperation.

WHAT WE SUGGEST.

The only plan of work at the present moment is to follow the Egyptian precedent. If Lord Milner could have a conversation with men like Zaglul Pasha and others whom the British authorities has considered fit persons to deport from Egypt, why cannot Mr. Montagu invite some Indian leaders and have conversations with them on the present Indian situation? A preliminary conference with a group formed by Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulvi Abul Kalam, Mr.Gandhi, Mr. Lajpat Rai, Mr. Das, Mr. Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari, Hakeem Ajmal Khan, Saith Chotani, Mr. Mohamed Ali, the Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Abdullah Harun, Mr. Vijyaraghawachariar and those three or four Muslim leaders in Europe of unquestioned loyalty to the Britain.

British who have done their best to warn the British statesmen and public against ill-treating, Turkey would we have nox doubt lead to favourable results provided that "all prejudices are cast aside" as the "Pall Mall Gazette" says, and no so-called "accomplished facts" are obstinately clung to.

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Selections from GOs relating to non cooperation and Khilafat movement
Proscribed Literature :: Urdu Books (1921)

1. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 317, Public, dated 21.5.1921.

"Faslul Khitab" (Renunciation of Titles.)

This bo k reproduces a speech delivered by Maulana Abdul Majid Kadri of Badaun, United Provinces.

The author purports to make out that the British have committed many wrongs against the Musalmans of the whole world and the Turks in particular and that non-co-operation with the enemies of Islam is enjoined by Muhammad. The author also urges Musalmans to help the Khilafat Workers financially, to practise Swadeshi, to emigrate if possible, and to diseminate correct ideas about the Khilafar question.

Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat movement (1920 to 1925)
Proscribed Literature : Urdu (1921)

2. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS. P 101.

G.O. No. 418, Public, dated 4th July 1921.

"Bulbulan Haryat ke Tarane" (Songs of the Nightingales of liberty) and "Western Monkeys".

Translation of the leaflet in Urdu entitled "BULBULAN HARYAT KE TARANE" (Songs of the Nightingales of Liberty), containing a number of political poems by different poets, published by the KHILAFAT Committee, Jaunpur, and printed at the Jadu Press, Jaunpur.

By "TECH ANSARI."

1. LISTEN to our complaint OH! thou of Medina; give help (therefore) Oh! thou of Medina.

2. A great disturbance (like that on the day of resurrection) is prevailing in Arabia, and a great storm is blowing in Persia; Oh! thou of Medina (see) what atrocities have been perpetrated over thy followers.

3. (Our) hearts are wounded by the sword of sorrow, and we are in the agonies of death, and Oh! thou of Medina, we are unhappy on account of the mourning for Islam.

4. What calamity has befallen him who, Oh! thou of Medina, is thy exalted Khalifa (representative), and is the gardener of the garden of the community (Musalmans).

5. Way the slavery of others, Oh! thou of Medina, make the community as free as it was in the first century (Hijrah).

6. 'Tegh' ANSARI, (belonging to the friends of Muhammad the Prophet), Oh! thou of Medina, prays with sighs and tears that may God heed to his cry for justice.

By "SAHAR"

1. The evening of troubles is casting its shadow over the walls of Turkey. The locks of Kufr have surrounded the cheeks of Islam.

2. In Shiraj as well as in Tebrez disturbances were created and blood was spilt everywhere in the cities of Islam.

3. The fate of that faith is to be finally decided to-day whose buildings had the sky as one of its corners.

4. O holy friend (of God)! O choicest of Creation! O Moon of Arabia, O thou the reliance on whom gives to even a straw the strength of a mountain.

57 -103.

5. See that they religion is in trouble from east to west, O Prophet! for Fatemah's sake! Look to it.

6. The war is a ruse! Peace, too, is a sham (the reality is that) there is the garden of they followers, and one is robbing it.

By "ASLAM".

1. O oppressor thus we will quench the thirst of thy dagger-- we will spill our blood like water.

2. After being trampled under cruelties we will spread all over the world, xxxxfxxxxfxxxxx after being ground like 'hena' (myrtle) will establish our (colour) supremacy.

3. As long as there is life in our body and blood in our veins we will not turn our face from truth but will die for it.

4. We have been brought up under the shadow of the swords of honour. Let us enter the battlefield and we will show you our merits.

5. In every vein of ours there circulates the blood of bravery. We will raise a storm the moment we are moved.

6. Yes, we are the slaves of honour; and the enemies of dishonour. Though we will be destroyed thereby we will also destroy you (the addressee of the previous lines.)

7. We will burn they barn with the flames of our sighs and if this fire lights up we will burn the whole world.

8. We are true to our word; once having given a promise we would not be treacherous even to our enemies.

9. Like the afflicted tongue of the candle by a grave we will always preach faithfulness even after being reduced to dust.

10. O Aslam the tongue of Muslim cannot be false. We will show in deed what we say in word.

By "NAYYAR"

1. O shake the whole world our cries of affliction! Raise storms O tear of the grief of the Muslim!

2. We, too, have got patrons; we, too, have got a God. Do not think it easy to destroy us.

3. The destruction of Islam will involve the destruction of the whole world. Think for a while and then destroy us.

4. There is a big storm in the ocean of the world. O God bring my boat to the shore.

5. Whose greedy eyes are fatally fixed on Turkey? O God save Islam from dishonour at this juncture.

6. Yes, O dear Musalmans, do not despair, do not spare any attempts ~~from dishonour at~~ and never lose courage.

7. Faith is the final cause of existence. So die and live for your religion.

8. Let the world resound with cries of Fakhir (i.e. ALLAH-O-AKHBAR). Show again the power of Islam to the world.

9. (They) have made us crawl in streets like worms. Ah! This cruelty of treating man as a beast!

ANONYMOUS.

1. O God! Preserve the honour of my Turkish youths, the guards of the country of Mustafa (the ~~people~~ Prophet) the choicest of creation.

2. Thousands of fowlers are lying in ambush with their eyes on the garden of Haram (Kaba). O God! Look to the welfare of the nests of the birds of Haram.

3. The vanity and pride and haughtiness of the European have surpassed the limits, O God! Let calamities befall them from the heavens.

4. O God! Give such a merit to the sword of Turkey as would remind everybody of the past stories.

5. The gate of Khyber (fort in Arabia) was pulled down with a cry of ALLAH-O-AKHBAR. This (cry) is the biggest gun of the heroes of Arabia.

6. From every quarter the storm of Kufr and darkness is gathering. O soul of Muhammad! Help, keep us who are so weak.

7. O God. bring us the day when I may see with my own eyes the flag of my national colours flying in India.

8. For God's sake O Muslim! Open thy eyes and forsake indolence The moment of thy trial has come.

9. I am gaged and gagged, the lot of poor Indians is sorrowful.

BY "MAULANA MUHAMMAD ALI JAUHAR."

1. If you abide by the will of God in every condition, you will

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see the consequences thereof. Then you will enjoy the pleasures of Paradise in this world.

2. Patience and contentment are the traditions of the Faithful. Be careful not to let slip from your hands the skirts of God.

3. Thou art not alone in the desert of the lonely journey. See the footprints of the Muhajirs (those who perform HIJRAT) of Batha (Mecca).

4. In no way art thou weaker than the flying sparrow: (allusion to the story of the invaders of Kaba related in QORAN), never care for they helplessness. Look to the grandear.

5. It is fated for thee still to wait for death. This kind of life contains in it the taste of death.

6. Novel is the splendour of the brave servants of God. In spite of their simplicity look at the beauty of the blood of martyrs.

7. It is the light of God and cannot be extinguished. If thou hast any power thou art welcome to try.

8. Internment doesn't matter. Prayers can't be stopped. See (to this and) do not oppress the creatures of God.

9. Wake up O sleeper. This is not the time for sleep. Look at the attitude of the old sky and the spirit of the world.

ANONYMOUS.

1. The repression of the Government is being manifested now. If one is arrested to-day, two arrested on the other (? morrow)

2. Who follows his religion is (regarded as) a rebel and an agitator-- who serves the country is (regarded as) headstrong and an anarchist.

3. One is imprisoned and other interned--one's security and the other's newspaper are forfeited.

4. One who cannot help speaking up the word of truth is (regarded as) the enemy (of the Government). One whose tongue is given to flattery is (regarded as) the helper (friend of the Government).

5. He is the Khan Bahadur who cuts the throats of his brethren. He is the evil-wisher of the Government who sympathises with the oppressed.

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6. We are imprisoned, interned and stopped from writing and speaking. With all this, co-operation is expected of us!

7. All right! Oppress us to your heart's content. Do not leave any flaw in the completeness of your oppression.

8. The betterment of the oppressed depends on oppression. It is due to oppression that we have awakened.

ANONYMOUS.

1. How long shall falsehood glory in this world? O truth! How long shall thy truthfulness remain concealed?

2. Where there is Islam falsehood shall not survive. How can darkness remain before the candle of guddance (of God)

3. O Muslims show the magnificence of your religion. How long shall the flashes of lightning remain hidden in the dark cloud?

4. Never shall we have to face the black days if we sincerely follow the commandment of the QURAN.

5. Never will my head bend before falsehood. God willing I will maintain this attitude.

6. I will risk my life with out any hesitation for the exposition of truth. As long as I have my tongue I willspeak out the truth.

7. How long will autumn reign in our garden? How long will the eyes of the Muslims continue to shed tears?

8. O Hazrat! What honour will the Musalmans possess if the glory of Kaba is gone?

BY "HAZIQ"

1. Do not lose patience in the prison, O victims of oppression! For these were the troubles (met) in the way of ascendency of the "Moon of Kannan" (i.e. Joseph)

2. What is the fear of the waves of (worldly) accidents to the boat of courage; (when) the Noah's ark did not drown in the deluge?

3. The bars of the cage will be burnt down by our burning sighs, and so we will be automatically free in the spring season.

4. Do not lose heart in the wilderness of desires if you have any blisters inyour feet. For there are thousands of

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"Seven Adventures" (allusion to Shahnama) of perils in this wilderness.

5. The spring is to come and the garden of the world will again flourish. The nightingales will again sing in this garden

6. O fellow-singers! I, too, had a nest in the garden. But now it is destroyed by the cruel hands of the merciless fowler.

7. O Haziq! The ill-natured foe (rival) has fallen in the eyes of the beloved. Pass a few days morein grief and sorrow of separation.

BY "AGHA HASHR KASHMIRI."

1. The sigh is going up to the sky to bring down mercy, O clouds! Move away and give way to it.

2. O prayer! Hold the ARSH (the throne of God) and beg "O God! Change the adverse attitude of fortune".

3. Those with whom we were at peace yesterday are at war (with us) to-day. Circumstances and fate are both inclined to do (us) harm.

4. (We) are now searching remedy for the burning grief. The wounds of the heart are crying for (healing) ointment.

5. Be merciful and do not forget Thy ways of grace. We have forgotten Thee; but do not Thou forget us.

6. Rejected by the world and kicked by it, we have now come to Thy door with outstretched hands.

7. We are degraded and are sinners. We have submerged in disgrace. Notwithstanding all this we are the followers of Thy dear Prophet.

8. If Thou did not keep up the heart of Thy worshippers, idols will taunt that the Muslims have no God.

<u>R E V I E W</u>.

The leaflet named "Western Monkeys" contains two poems. The first which was read by M.Nazir Ahmed of Khajand at the District Political Conference, Bulandshahar on the 10th April 1921, is reproduced from the "bedar" newspaper dated the 13th April 1921. Below is given the translation of the objectionable lines in it

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1. God willing, we shall, one day, be able to enslave those who are kings.

2. We will tame these proud puppets, x the Western monkeys who go about fighting in all directions.

3. Pack up your luggage and run away; we will manage our country ourselves.

5. First of all we will turn you out of India; then will take possession of Turkey and syria.

6. By various devices, the western impostors can entrap only those who are covetous.

7. Such people make their honest earnings dishonest by adding to them the money received from Government.

8. If you love our enemies, we will sever our connection of love with you.

9. I-f you continue your tyranny and oppression in this way, we willendure to stay in the jail.

10- Let alone the long pexriod of a year, they (Indians) will attain Swarag in the a moment if they raise the same voice together.

14. Let them prohibit meetings and proscribe books; but can they stop our lamentations?

15. You may trouble us today; on the judgment day we will hold you by the collar and wreak vengeance on xx you.

There are seventeen lines in all.

Selections from G.Os relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat movement (1920-25)
Proscribed Literature :: Urdu books (1921)

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6. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHEETS.

G.O. No. 499 Public dated 5-8-1921.

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TARANE KOM (NATIONAL SONG.)

Translation of a poem in Urdu entitled "Tarane Kom", published by BHAWANI PRASAD of Hapur, and printed at the "M.P." Press, Moradabad.

WHATEVER we have resolved we must accomplish. We shall turn our tears into a river.

This is the cry of my chains (fetters): "Mind that we would bring bad name on our enemies."

We will bear sorrow, undergo imprisonment, or even shall be prepared to be hanged by the neck; whatever may happen we shall drive back the enemy.

The tyrant who caused so much bloodshed at the Jallianwala Bagh shall be put to disgrace in the eyes of the world.

~~We cannot~~ Our country (India) is good and our soil fertile. We shall double its status among the nations of the world.

~~xxxxxxxxx~~ We will cause havoc and shake the whole world. The cries of our heart shall bring on annihilation.

It does not matter whether we lose our lives or not, but we shall prove our words to be true.

Why should there be present on our soil a foreigner? We wish that we should alone be here and we shall achieve that OBJECT.

We shall proclaim to the whole world the tyrannies to wich we tongueless PEOPLE have been subjected.

NAND LAL alias BRINDAR GUPTA KAIFI,

Secretary, Swaraj Asram, Bareilly

THE lovers of the country shall make India their own. They shall carry out their determination without fail.

Those whose oppressions have turned us into bows, shall be made straight like an arrow by us.

We shall leave slavery (service) and take up trading, and we shall thus make amends for our lost fortune.

We shall prefer "SWADESHI" things and shall burn foreign articles.

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Gandhi is the pilot of the boat of India. There is no doubt that he would lead us to the shore.

He will liberate India from slavery and set right the board which is upside down just now.

Hindu-Muslim unity has made us strong and we shall certainly root out the enemy.

DWARKA PRASAD,
BAREILLY.

We shall disclose your oppression and tyranny. You have lowered us in the estimation of others and we shall do the same.

We shall certainly be avenged some day of the wrongs inflicted on us at Jallianwala Bagh.

We say, by God, that we shall turn the rulers into the ruled.

If God wills we shall certainly take revenge of every innocent murder. We shall certainly achieve this object of ours.

Indians be aware of their tricks, otherwise they are sure to carry out their intention.

We shall enslave them, we shall do unto them what they have done to us.

Let the spinning wheel of Gandhi be popularized. We shall disable the enemy by this very wheel.

MUHAMMAD ROSHAN,
BILGRAM, HARDOI.

O India! a river of tears will flow from our eyes and it shall wash out all your pains and sorrow and thereby cure you.

We do not care if we lose our lives in following the path of faithfulness, because even if death ensues, it will bring on a good name.

Our tongue may be severed, we may be blinded and we may be beheaded, but we shall certainly carry out ~~xq~~ what we have said. The cry of BANDE MATARAM is like that of SUR (trumpet that will be sounded on the day of judgment). We ~~shout~~ shall produce havoc

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by this cry.

We shall wash off all social and religious distinctions and turn temples into KABA and vice versa.

The head which is proud on account of being self-willed, we say, we shall lower it (head).

O India! You will exist and your grandeur will also remain. We shall raise you in the eyes of the world.

Our tears which have been forced on us say laughingly "we shall produce pain even in the hearts of the enemy."

SOTI SINGH?

BAREILLY.

WE will accomplish what we are trying to do; we shall extinguish the fire of your oppression.

You are false to your promises and you take others to be ~~letters.~~ Liars. We shall make fun of somebody's kingdom.

We shall blot out the name of the enemy from the face of the earth in a moment, O Poet! ~~(Tarkin)~~ (Taskin). We shall leave our enemy when he is stone dead.

MUHAMMAD VIKAR HUSAIN.

BAREILLY.

WE shall annihilate the Government. Now we shall set to naught the enemy's country and religion.

Don't play with out wails and cries. We shall by and by get a footing.

You cannot take rest by oppressing us who are poor. We shall proclaim your oppression to the whole world.

We have, after all, been brought to our senses by your oppressions administered by degrees, O Poet! (Bechain). We shall leave your nations when we are certain that it is cold.

BECHAIN,

BAREILLY.

WE shall produce such an effect in SATYAGRAHA. We shall lower the head of the enemy one day.

(x) We are true to our words and we shall achieve our object We shall efface law instantaneously like false letters.

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We shall go from door to door and wake up the servants of the country; we shall infuse life into the hearts that are dead. We shall not be excited by the oppression of the tyrant; we shall rather cool the enemy down by ~~the~~ our sighs.

We shall infuse the spirit of nationalism in the heart of every countryman; we shall cure India that it sick and weak.

We shall overthrow the foreign rule by following the path of liberty. We shall take possession of our country. ourselves.

India is our country and we have got a right over it. We shall make India our own.

We shall follow the injunctions of Gandhi by our heart and soul. We shall attain SWARAJ in the end and thus fulfil our promise.

We shall preach the message of love to the whole world, O Poet! (Joash); no need telling at present as to what we are going to do.

JEY NARAIN.
BAREILLY.

WHATEVER we have got to say, we shall say, and whatever we have got to do, we shall do it by all means.

We shall cause disunion ~~and~~ disunion itself. We shall unite those who are separated.

We shall annihilate ourselves in our endeavours and we will not mind even if our homes are disintegrated.

We shall produce such ideas in the minds of every body that he will be prepared to sacrifice his life for a small thing as well.

We are not Britains that we will deny what we have said; we shall accomplish what we have said.

We might tell you that we shall attain what we call SWARAJ.

Whatever has been taught to us by our national pride, we shall disclose the secret of reality.

We shall not allow them to remain or dwell here, but we now see them off.

SARDAR AHMAD,
BAREILLY.

Selections from GOS relating to non-cooperation and khilafat movement (1920-1925) Proscribed literature :: Urdu books (1921)

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7. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPBLETS.

G.O. No. 532, Public dated 20-8-1921.

"TARK-I-MUVALAT".

Name:--Deatiled review on Non-co-operation movement (TURK-I-MUVALAT PAR MOFASSAL TABSERA).

Publisher.--Maulana Habibur Rahman, Assistant Manager, DAR-UL-ULUM, Deo-band.

Printer.--"Qasimi" Press, Deoband.

This book is a detailed review of the Non-oooperation movement by Maulvi Shabbir Ahmad read at the sessions of ULAMAS at Delhi.

In the beginning the writer says that the trampling down of the sovereigns of KHILAFAT means a disgrace to all the Musalmans that the nations which massacred thousands of Musalmans, and took possession of the holiest mosques of the world, and called this war to have been the war of crusades, have established a rebel Government over Mecca and Medina with the result that the sacred temple of God was desecretated and its worshippers were arrested. Even then their desire for conquest and massacre did not subside. Their guns are still roaring on the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and their aeroplanes are still disturbing the KALMA reciting inhabitants of Iraq and other places.

At the middle of page 6 the writer exhorts musalmans not to be afraid of any temporal power in the presence of that King of Kings (God).

On page 8 the writer advises the ULAMAS to try their utmost to remove cowardice, disunion, and pride from the Musalmans under their respective influence, and to settle the differences amongst the ULAMAS themselves. He then says that the result will be far more happy and desirable because a nation can be successful and predominant only in one of the two ways. It should have either material or spriritual power. If it does not possess any material strength it must cultivate spiritual power to achieve its end; and non-co-operation is one of the spiritual arms.

This non-co-operation movement therefore, he believes, is surely effective provided the whole nation works on it unitedly.

At the end of page 10 the writer has pointed out with certainty that non-co-operation movement is very essential and especially in the case of such a nation which openly attacked the Musalmans and made them homeless. He quotes passages from Arabic in support of the movement and says that non-co-operation with the infidels was always enjoined on Muslims.

On page 12 the writer remarks that the modern education in English schools has made our young men worshippers of the Government and despisers of their religion.

On page 14 he points out that the Indians want to cut off all those commercial connections which have swelled the stomachs of the European capitalists to the extent that they want to satisfy their hunger by swallowing the entire Muslim population of the world.

On page 15 the writer advises the Musalmans to refrain, as far as possible, from strengthening the arms of the enemies and from all those relations which may tend to assist them now or hereafter in their crimes and oppressions.

On page 16 he points out that if the Hindus get SWARAJ, the Musalmans will also profit by it at least in the sense that it would be very difficult for the British to occupy the Islamic countries, and also in the sense that in future Indian armies will not go to fight against the Musalmans.

The book also contains the presidential message from Shaikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan who thinks it quite agreeable to non-co-operate with the existing Government.

[illegible] as relating to non cooperation movement (1920-1923)
Proscribed literature : Telugu books (1921).

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLET. 127.

Review of the Telugu Pamphlet Hindu-desamu-Purvaprastutastitulu..

G.O.No.594, Public Department, dt.14th September, 1921.

The pamphlet was written by one Maduri Annapurnayya who was a student of the Pachiappa's College, Madras, and who gave up his studies under the influence of non-cooperation movement. The book was printed in the V.N. Press Rajahmundry in the year 1921 and was priced only nine pies a copy.

~~The Leaflet briefly surveys the condition.~~

The leaflet briefly surveys the condition of India, during the Hindu, the Muhammadan and the British rule and concludes with a contrast of the condition of India present (under the British rule), with that of India past (under the Hindu and the Muhammadan rule) in the following strain.

During the rule of the Hindu kings and that of the Muhammadan rulers, the country was very wealthy and fruitful. Though the Muhammadans were aliens, they came to this country and settled here along with the people of the country, and so our wealth remained in the country without going out to foreign countries. It is not so now. Then there was no race distinction observed in preferring persons to offices. Now the whiteman has the upperhand in every matter. If a whiteman now commits crime, he has a separate trial. Then all were equal in the eye of law, Taxes then were ~~were~~ moderate. Now, every ryot is groaning under the unbearable weight of taxation. Sciences, arts and industries were then flourishing and now, we cannot think of such a thing. People had then enough to fill their bellies with. Now, they are starving for want of bread.

"Oh, ye, Indians, you have seen the difference between the conditions of your country, past and present. Think how you can get out of this bad plight. Nothing but SWARAJ can be thought of by anyone, as a remedy for this evil. So brothers and sisters, awake and gird up your lions for securing SWARAJ and take to action. It is of no use to delay. Make sufficient sacrifice and win Swaraj.

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Take the vow of non-violent non-co-operation in conformity with the mandate of Mahatma Gandhi and secure the blessing of Swaraj. Secure victory to mother India. Arise and come! . . . . .

Victory to mother India".

2. In sketching the course of Indian administration during the rule of the Hindu kings such as Chandragupta, Asoka and Harsha, the leaflet describes their charity and generosity, and the general prosperity of the country in the matter of trade and industries. Even under the rule of the Muhammadan kings, such as Akbar, Jihangar and Shajahan, India, says the leaflet, enjoyed peace and plenty.

3. Under the heading. "the British rule", the leaflet observes to the following effect:-

The English came to India as traders along with other nations such as the French and the Portuguese. The East India Company took advantage of the feuds between Indian chiefs and by fraud acquired money and territory. On the pretext of having to protect ~~of having to protect~~ their factories, they raised some army, trained Indians for war, took sides in the feuds of Indian rulers and took money and territory from the parties whom ~~why~~ they helped on to victory. . . . Robert Clive was a very clever man. None could equal him in the art of deceiving others. Historical works in English proclaim him as the great personage that founded the British Empire in India. Let us consider a little how he established the Empire. . . . . 'Clive was indignant at Surajadowla for the black-hole incident, which ought not to have occurred in the civilised world, fought a sanguinary battle with him, and founded the Empire.' So write the English historians; but a study of true history shows that this is all a myth. . . . . The readers will consider how an English army of 3,000 could vanquish the Nawab's army of 30,000 in three hours. The truth is that Clive colluded with the Nawab general, with the result that he treacherously went over to the side of the English at the commencement of the battle. Omichand who was privy to Clive's overtures, threatened to disclose the whole affair to the Nawab, and was silenced by a forged invalid document promising

him a large sum. . . . . It would appear from this that Clive founded the Empire by creating dissensions among friends, by treachery and forgery. . . . We have not been valiantly vanquished by the sword in a fight. . . . Warren Hastings, our first Governor-General, was also clever, and his mind, like that of Clive, took to evil paths. He extorted money from women and subjected them to suffering. For forgery (even supposing that the charge against Nandakumar was true) Nandakumar was hanged and Clive was honoured. The difference in treatment is due to the difference in colour. . . . Lord Dalhousie was clever in annexing Native States to English dominions. If a chief died issue-less his State must lapse to the Company. On such invented grounds, he annexed Satara, Jansi, Nagapore and Oudh. Does this in any way differ from gang-robbery? Unable to bear the pain while such a plunder of the country was going on, the people of India waged a terrible war with the English in 1858, for winning Swaraj. The English historians give to this 'war of independence' the false name of 'the Sepoy Mutiny', and lightly dispose it of. The people being disunited, the endeavour for Swaraj failed. . . . When God grants a boon the priest withholds it. . . . . Setting at naught the proclamation of Queen Victoria the Government confer all high offices on whitemen. . . . . Since 1770 when the British may be said to have assumed the Government of our country, there have occurred 22 famines, during one of which Gunturdistrict lost two out of the five lakhs of its population, and there was no means for disposing of the corpses. Alas, what a fate overtook a very fertile country that had not known what a famine was ! Now six crores of the country's population are starving for want of a single full meal in the course of the day. Alas, 'the people of India, a country which is blessed with a highly fertile soil and favourable climatic conditions, which was the birth place of a highly civilised race, which was prosperous in trade and commerce, which was the cradle of sciences and arts, and which had been the store house of wealth from time immemorial are now suffering for want of bread to eat and cloth to wear'. What is the reason for this? This is not due to a failure of crops

in the country. There is an extensive export of the raw products of the country, to return as manuafactured goods with many times their cost price. Every year 150 crores of rupees on the whole are being drained away from our country and the policy of the English rulers is to starve the people here and fill the bellies of the people of their country. . . . The English officers are paid exorbitant salaries and half the revenue is spent on the army. Thus the life blood of the people is being sucked in many ways and they are left as dregs. Trade is all in the hands of the English and the Anglo-Indians and the ryots are overburdened with taxation and deeply in-debted, and the consequent poverty has been curtailing the life time of the people and telling upon their honesty, integrity and character. . . Our education but trains us up to be clerks and cuts at the root of our religion, traditions and national spirit. It gives no scope for independence, and sucks the sap of our student population and makes them living corpses. Our education, sanitation and irrigation are neglected. . . . Sixty lakhs of our countrymen, as many as those that died in the great war, died of influenza in 1919. To add to this, there is the Arms Act; and to prevent us from ventilating our grievances there are repressive laws, and such as the press Act and the Defence of India Act, with the Rowlatt Act to crown them all, which has completely destroyed our self-respect and which may be made use of by an officer for condemning any great man to jail by a secret trial. This Act was passed in the teeth of keen popular opposition and setting at naught public opinion. The massacres and high-handed acts perpetrated by General Dyer and by the other officers of Sir M. O'Dwyer with his consent, out of intolerance towards the new awakening among the people of the Punjab, are well known to all; . . . . Chaste women were stripped of their cloths and made to sit on thorns. A wooden pike was driven into the anus of a man. Some were made to drink urine. . . . All these was perpetrated by our rulers in 1919. The life of an Indian has become cheap and low. . . . Tilak who was equal to god suffered imprisonment many times, Ali brothers were needlessly kept under restraint, Lala Lajput Rai was expelled from the country, and, at last, Mahatma Gandhi too was found fault with and kept under restraint, on account of the repressive laws. What may be termed freedom does not exist in India now.

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Selections from the G.O.S relating to Non-cooperation movement Proscribed Literature: English (1921) (1920-1922)

XXVII **EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED ENGLISH BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.**

G.O.No.751, dt.31st October 1921. "Truth pamphlet" 135

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A free translation of the whole till the portion marked on page 5 of the pamphlet.

In the name of the Glorious God etc.

ENQUIRY.

This great war which has shakened the root of Islam and the Khilafat divides the Indian Muslim into three groupes:

(1) those who, taking part in active service, and risking their dear lives, have helped the non-believers;

(2) those who, by remaining in India, encouraged the non-believers by helping them with money and by their valuable advice and decisions;

(3) those who, by remaining quiet, kept peace and tranquility in the country though they did not help with money and by risking their lives.

(a) It is for consideration, whether in the present circumstances, when the X'tian powers in general and the British power in particular are ready to ruin the Islam and appear to be successful in their efforts, is it not the religious bounden duty of we poor Muslims to non-co-operate with the British Government and its Allies.

(b) whether the 1st and 2nd groups according to the doctrines of Shariat, (Religion) deserve to be called Muslim or not?

(c) whether the 3rd group, according to the religious principles may be considered neutral or whether he will come under the category of Non-believers.

ARABIC QUOTATION.

(a) It is not at all lawful, according to the religious doctrine to cooperate with such a Government which by wicked actions and false promises and finding opportunity has begun to ruin and oppress such a race, which has helped in its prosperity and has tried its level best to keep up its promises.

The difference between a Muslim and non-believer is of "fulfilment of promise" and on this there is a clear verdict given in the Holy Quran.

Arabic Quotations, which means As long as the non-believer are abiding by their promise and have regard for your rights, you may also co-operate with them. Notwithstanding the orders of the Glorious God, they have broken their innumerable pledges and have considered all our requests and services as nothing, are we then bound to be faithful and loyal to them outwardly and inwardly. And there are clear orders to this effect in the Quran:-

Arabic Quotation, which means, if the non-believers do not act on their pledges and attack your religion then, at that time instead of Loyalty, it will be your bounden duty not only to fight with them, but to fight in such a way as to give an entire defeat, so that they may not play such mischief again.

NOW we turn to that class of men, who attacked Islam by joining the non-believers with men and money. The history bears witness to this fact that in the world upto this time no race has ever existed who has attached his own religion by joining the unbelievers. If there is any living testimony, it is those Indian Muslims, who like the Jews become unbelievers of their own religion; this the title given to the Jews in the Holy Quran:-

Arabic Quotation, which means you don't be unbelievers of your own sacred book and beligion; the Jews underwent all sufferings and hardships inflicted by Pharoh (iroon), sacrificed their children, the chastity of their girls was molested, but they did not co-operative with him.

The Indian Muslims, in order to help and co-operative with Pharoh, sacrificed their own children; the chastity of their females was molested at Symerna and many other places.

When Bakht Nasir conquered Jeruselum, the Jews did not allow him to capture it upto last breath of their child even. The Indian Muslims are ready to co-operate in future

and are demanding rewards for past services, ------couplet------

Now every sensible man can say what action we should take with them. Will any wise man say that we should non-cooperate with Pharoh and cooperate with his followers? If they are not the followers of Pharch, then Pharch would not be called a Pharoh. When we carefully read the Holy Quran, we fins that it is the religious bounden duty to non-cooperate with those who are the enemies of True Religion and destroyers of the Commandments of GOD and disturbers of peace and tranquility. Read Surah Muhtanh carefully which clearly says, O Muslims! those who are bent upon destroying My Religion and you, don't consider them your well wisher. Are you not ashamed to cooperate with them, when they have deliberately disregarded your rights by their words and actions. Their enmity has reached to such a pitch that they are harassing the Prophet and the Muslims only for this reason that they are acting according to the commandments of GOD. According to the news published in the Military Gazette, it is stated, that the Army of Kafir, beseiged Medica for one year and gave trouble to the Prophet in different ways; whose gunners were specially Indian Muslims. In the same Surah, it is stated, Arabic Quotation, here those principles are described which clearly indicate to non-cooperate with the Infidel and his Allies, that is it a sin against GOD to cooperate with those (1) who might have attacked your sacred religion, and (2) who have attacked your old hereditary kingdom and now wish to expell you out by sharing it, and (3) those Muslims who are Muslims in name only have helped the Infidels in the above mentioned causes; and not withstanding this, if any body claims to be their friend and if he does not non-cooperates with them, he is a big tyrant. The most striking thing is this, that our Muslim leaders have helped these non-believers to a very great extent, but the non-believers have no faith in these warriors. Still there is colour distinction.

Arabic Quotation.

Are you not ashamed to keep friendship with them being Muslims? It is wonderful that they have no confidence in you. When any race begins to decline from its prosperity, the tarment of GOD first befalls upon the brain and heart and they cannot diagnos between good and bad. The India n Muslims have joined the Infidels because they thought they will have respect in peace and will be benefitted by them in every way, but alas they got nothing but degradation.

Arabic Quotation.

From the above quotation it is clear that it is not lawful to keep connection with such a race which has ruined the country and religion itself. If the Indian Muslims have taken lead in the conquest of Iraq, they also have the honour of conquering Jerusalem. If the sacred places and minarets were the targets of their guns, then they are the cause of the downfall of the Khilafat and the cursed flag of conquest of Constantinople is also flying over their head. According to the principles of Holy Quran, the undermentioned steps should be taken besides noncooperation, with these men.

Arabic Quotation, which means those people who fought against GOD and His Prophet and disturbed the peace of the country, should be inflicted any of the following punishment for their wicked action.

(1) they should be beheaded; or

(2) they should be hanged; or

(3) their right hand and left foot should be cut off; or

(4) they should be expelled from Islamic Kingdom. The above mentioned are the wordly punishments. The punishment if the 'Day of Judgment' is still severe than this.

(b) On considering the wicked actions of the 1st and 2nd groupes in the light of religious doctrines, it is not lawful to call such kind of faithless persons as Muslims.

* * *

(c) There remains that class of men who observed seclusion and quietness surely they are also from the sect of unbelievers and cannot obtain the object in any way.

* * *

man Government. We are afraid that the imp of destiny is once more playing pranks with this country and instead of the rational democracy that it needs, we are witnessing the birth of a new religion. Gandhiji alone could not have brought about this result, but as luck would have it, he has got worthy collaborators in Lord Willingdon and his advisers who are out to manufacture a band of martyrs whose names and memories will dominate the lives of our millions, for centuries to come.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Proscribed literature 1921)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Panchala Parabhavamu - Proscription - Ordered.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.792(Confidential)dated12-11-1921,Public Dept.

The Government of Madras proscribed a book in Telegu entitled "Panchala Parabhavamu".

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Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation movement (1920-1922)
Proscribed literature: Telugu books (1921)

VI Extracts from Telugu Books (Proscribed) and Pamphlets.

"PANCHALA PARABHAVAMU." G.O.No.792, 12th November, 1921, Public Department.

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Summary of a book in Telugu entitled 'PANCHALA PARABHAVAMU' (The punjab outrages or theinsult offered to Panchala) written by D. Pundarikakshudu and published by the Chandrika Press Guntur.

This is a drama in five acts in which is described the political history commencing from the awakening of the Satyagraha Vow, The Chief incidents of the terrible massacres, perpetrated in the Punjab while Sir M.O'Dwyer was theGovernor and Lord Chelmsford was the viceroy are described in this.

The opening stanzas of the Drama are interesting. 1. 'May the same Gopal who destroyed the race of the sons of karurajah who were sinful and who making her husbands stand had Panchala (Drowpadi) dragged before them and stripped that gem of a woman of her cloth- May the same Gopal now incarnate quickly on earth and remove the atrocities on it.

2. May God Buddha who preached to the world the excellent Dharma of Ahimsa (non-violence) or Christ whose form is exquisite love and whose nature is mercy a Gandhimurthi who is the very peacefulness itself in the form of man....soon put an end to Dyer's acts on this earth.

The dialogue that deals with the Punjab atrocities is important. Desa Bhakta explains to Desa-Sevaka another person about them. . . . 'The innocent people were shot in many places with rifles and with bombs from aeroplanes above. They introduced Martial Law in the country. Martial Law means the ~~inspe-~~ imposition of punishments without trial. All in the country, without distination of age, status etc., were insulted and put to unbearable hardships. The Hunter Committee was asked to investigate the causes of the troubles and this Committee did not have any Indian as a member. The whole question was one filled with confusedition.'

Then Mother India narrates the sufferings caused by the British. 'Listen, O People, though I have many sons strong, famous and great, I

have to be in incessant servitude to others. I have no liberty of speech and writing. The Rowlatt Act prohibits my sons from taking up arms in defence of their lives and property. Alas! What a fateful day for my sons! O God! Protector of the humble! have you no mercy on me? Will you not come to protect my sons and deliver me from this ocean of sorrow?

Then Gandhiji enters and expounds his non-violent Satyagraha: 'I am applying that sacred Satyagraha vow to the present political conditions of our country. It is such a divine weapon as is calculate to put an end to the arbitrary rule of the Government and as befits our traditions. With this firm belief I introduce it into our country. The Rowlatt Act is an insult to the whole human race."

Sir M.O!Dwyer confers the title of Rao Saheb on persons who have contributed for the war fund. Finding the amount collected ~~for war~~ too low, He wants to levy tax. Apprehending danger, He gives orders to arrest the leaders Satyapal and Kitchlew who have been instrumenta in bringing about the Hindu-Moslem Union.

Mother Panchala (Punjab) is introduced bemoaning her fate. He says to the soldiers: 'It is only for bread for your belly that you serve the Government. Are there not many on this earth without such service? Have they died? Can you not live like them without this base life? Oh Soldiers! Will you do all that those crooked minded, wicked and cruel persons ask you to do? Even if you are soldiers, remember you are born of the Indian race. Be all of you united and carry on your Government. Why do you seek the bread with flood? Say to yourself "Can we not live proudly and comeout to find freedom". Have you, who have been born in the race of the Aryas. No courage and Valour?

In the Crawling lane General Dyer enters and gives orders: Soldiers! All the people must salam standing as directed by us. The prestige of the English race must be permanently established in this land. Soldiers! You must soon seize all that pass by this way and punish them without distination of the young and the old. In the rest of this serve one Lala Lalaya Ram, 58 years old is

is represented as having been whipped, for not giving out the names of those who beat Miss. Sherwood: One Ghulam Khader, as having been bound down and tied up to a tree for refusing to give a statement unknown to him, one sait Gulam who was kneeling and praying, as having been tortured for refusing to bear false evidence against Messrs. Satyapal and Kitchlew, two innocent persons one of whom was a blind man as having been compelled to crawl, kicked with booted legs and one Lala Ganapathi Rai who was giving to a temple as having been compelled to crawl with threats of beating.

The Act concludes with a solemn resolution to under the many insults of Mother Panchala, and to follow the Satyagraha.

The fifth Act tells about the Amritsar session of the Congress... Gandhiji says...Friends, you should not lament over this matter. Suffering is the gate of happiness. This Punjab insult and these Panjab atrocities will become unquenchable fire that burns the bonds of our servitude. This will fan the fire of patriotism in the heart of every Indian and keep up the national respect.....Arbitrary authority should be put an end to. Arise and take up the Satyagrha Vow!

Proscribed literature :: Telugu books (1921) — Non-cooperation and Khilafat movement (1920-2?)

XI **EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.**

"SWARAJYAMANTRAMU".

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28 Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled "Swaarajya-mantramu" by Yenamandra Krishna Rao, Secretary, Village Committee, Sekur, Guntur District. and printed at the Sitavilasa Press, Tenali, Guntur district .

G.O. No. 812, dt. 18th November 1921, Public Department:

ANNEXURE:

"Swarjyamantramu" by Yenamandra Krishna Rao of Sekur.

*   *   *   *   *   *

Come, Oh Mother India, to rule us. Is it just on your part to keep us in a kingdom of Death? ..... The white DORAIS, who have no fear for thieving, have gone plundering our wealth. ..... The white men came from SEEMA for trade, as they said. They held the balance in hand, and took to wrong ways, Oh, Mother India. They fomented dissensions and prevented us from uniting. They forged a false document and seized the whole of the Empire,,,.... The white men strew a soporific in the form of opium, todday and arrack. They plundered all our wealth and placed the begging stick and dish (bowl) in our hands. They asked us to learn English, Oh Mother India, at the age of five and plunged us in servitude, and said that it is a just rule. What the white men say is one thing, and what they do is another. They have become deceivers. They imposed what are called taxes. When we die, they demand a tax for the burial-ground. While the white men are doing mischief, there came the war with the Germans. The white men required us to send Indian heroes and crores of money..... After winning victory in the war, they gave us the Rowlatt Act. The white men perpetrated strange massacres even in the region of Panchala (the Punjab). The white men are not true to their word. We shall never render them any help, Oh Mother India, Will they not, Oh Mother India, give us SWARAJ in six months and go? Do not forget, Oh Aryas, the massacres of the Punjab? They stripped women of their clothes and offered them an insult that bears no mention...... They flogged boys, and the savage Dyer made them swoon. They mercilessly whipped innocent respectable persons. Is it possible to narrate all the

massacres they have perpetrated? ..... Say with faith the mantra of non-co-operation, Sri Gandhi mantra, and Swarjya mantra ...... It is an Arya mantra that will drive away the enemies and will cut the glamour of the white race ..... It is a mantra which will remove the servitude of the Bharata heroes .... The honour of the country is destroyed. Awake and see. Awake from sleep..... The evil-minded and foolish Dyer fired those that assembled in the Jallianwallah Bagh. The RAKSHASAS dragged into the public women that never saw the sun. They tied up all the boys to the traingle and flogged them hard-heartedly. They made the unarmed innocent crawl along the streets on their bellies. The westerners now became cruel and seized and beat all the leaders. They cut the throats of the bhaktas (devotees) of Mother (India), who were engaged in bhajanas, without thinking that it is a sin. The death-dealing aeroplanes threw down bombs and persons died sending up cries of distress. All the houses fell by the bombs. The king has not impaled the wicked that committed these horrors. Why should we have friendship with the white men until we secure SWARAJ? We have wielded in our hand the sword of peace and surely victory will attend us. Do not forget the Punjab massacres. They ties the hands of the leaders with ropes and stripped the women of their cloth. When persons complained that they could not crawl on their bellies, they kicked with their boots on their heads. They tied lovely boys to the whipping triangle and flogged them till they wailed aloud. They p rpetrated many massacres that bear no mention. It is no longer proper that others should rule over us. With the sword of peace in hand, rush to DHARMAYUDHA (the battle of justice), crying 'victory'. Oh, true son of India, do not draw back. Oh Aryas, undertake to lay down your dignity, wealth and life, for your mother country. We will get SWARAJ by soul-force without doubt in four months, ... Mahatma Gandhi is to rule us, establishing DHARAMA, emancipating us from servitude. Mahatma Gandhi has

said that if one does ASHTAKSHARI (a mantra of eight letters) PUJA with devotion, victory will attend us......

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Note: The book is not found in the file; but contains a summary of its contents by the Telugu Translator to the Government, which is printed here as the Annexure.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C. & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Proscribed literature

Abstract of the G.O.

("India in the years 1919-20-21" - Map - "The Birth of Asah yoga Krishna" - Picture - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.190 (Ordinary) dated 2-2-1922:Public Department

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The Government of Madras declared forfeited a map entitled "India In the years 1919-20-21" and a Picture entitled "The Birth of Asah Yoga Krishna" under section 12 of Indian Press Act 1910.

XVII EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED ~~TELUGU~~ English BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Summary of 'Gandhi Vijayam'. Public, G.O.No.93, dt.1st February, 1922. (Confl.)

SUMMARY OF 'GANDHI VIJAYAM.'

The nandi (opening stanzas) are in praise of Gandhi and his virtues such as Non-violence, righteousness, forbearance and peacefulness.

In the prelude, the question is raised whether the 'passive' and non-violent movement which is abruptly pressed on the attention of the Indians is right and likely to succeed; it is said, in reply, that it has been declared by God Almightiy that He will incarnate as Gandhi to inculcate the doctrine of Ahimsa (Non-violence and Atmanigraha (Self-control) that the "end has approached of the atrocities resulting from the wickedness of a bad Government,"and that this drama will bear out the fact that the movement of Gandhi "has begun to triumph".

Act I.

Scene i. Arabindagosh, when Goddess Bhavani appears before him propitiated by his penance and bids him ask a boon, says:-

"Mother! We cannot bear to see Mother India in dejection and afflicted with grief being subjected to misery; dispel the dejection of our Mother who is deeply afflicted with grief at heart seeing her sons groping in servitude subjected to incessant afflictions devoid of all freedom and bereft of happiness." Gandhi enters and asks Aravinda if he is happy and the latter says," Persons like us will be happy only when the country abounds in harvest and milk, when sin goes down and virtue prevails and when people lead pure lives". Gandhi says that in point of everyone of these essentials, India is very deficient and seeks his advice. Aravinda says that the whole responsibility of the deliverence of India devolves upon him, and that, till the completion of this diksha (devotion), he will only be sending up his prayers. Gandhi departs, resolved to ~~propagate~~ propagate his doctrine and carry on his movement. A lawyer a ryot, and an official, meet Aravinda and represent the condition of India. The Lawyer says," X X India is gradually being reduced

to a very miserable condition. The system of Government has followed cruel methods and is transgressing bounds day by day. Even life and honour are at stake. Tilak Maharaj passed away at this critical moment. I come to seek your advice now". The ryot says, "Sir, What shall I say of our plight? We are being burnt down (by want)." The official says that he is worried by his profession of servitude. Arabinda tells them all to cooperate with "Mahatma Gandhi, born to deliver India from her misery". They all depart with a resolve to cooperate with Gandhi.

Scene ii. Ramayya enters bemoaning the evil times on which India, once "enjoying freedom, crowned with harvests, and overflowing with milk, and now containing many destitute of food and clothing " has fallen. He says, Has the wealth of India gone? No, no; X X It has gone over to others. Look at those motor-cars, those silk-dresses, those Coffee-clubs, and the rejoicings in the town. Have all these ceased for the reason that the poor are in destitution?

These are on the increase. Why weep for these? To what a fortune has the white skin been born! They are enjoying celestial happiness in this country. They say that nothing short of a thousand rupees a month is an honourable salary for them! With these Rs.1000/- we can surely enable a hundred poor people to live! Ah! what a spacious compound for each one's house! What palaces! What enjoyment! They can have no paradise better than this. X X.

Bapireddi enters and says to Ramayya, "What Ramayya garu, have you got any money? These are not taxes; the day has come when we have to give up our lives. I have paid two kists. I have nothing to pay the third. Our crop has failed and the Karnam rides over us even if we wish to lie down starving X X. While these taxes are like this, we have the worry of the Income-tax. Good God may save my enemy from this! X X

Then enters a sowcar Gopichetti, also deploring the hard times, X X. All exit, Bapireddi expressing a wish to go to the Calcutta Congress to meet Gandhi "who was showing some way to the ryots."

Sceneiii. Two students enter, in which the second that is longing

to give up his studies persuades the first to go with him to the Calcutta Congress. He says, in answer to a doubt expressed by the first about the success of the resolution of Gandhi, " X X. Do you take Gandhi to be the Old Gandhi? Tilak expiring, it is said, has entered Gandhi! Did you not hear what happened at the time of his death? X X (PP. 1 to 17)

Act II.

Scene i. This opens with the stirring soliloquy of ShaukatAli:-

What a wickedness! What a wickedness!! What a wickedness!!! The prowess has all cooled down, of muhammadan race who, when they wield the sword in hand with the valour of young lions, X X, will make the earth and sky shake X X. The words of Mr. Lloyd George have become empty! He promised that he would render much help to us but at last broke all those promises. We were cherishing a hope that he would do us much good. At last we have been deceived. Alas! Is the Turkish Empire and Muhammadan religion to be destroyed? X X What are our lives for, if not to save the Turkish Empire? Why is this country for us? Why, this Government? We must be loyal to the Government, but is the King greater than God? X X. Loyalty to the King is only next to devotion to God.

X X X X X X

(Fancying the presence of an Englishman)

X X. Why are you so hostile to us? Is it for our having stood by your side as your allies? Is it not only the other day that we took up the sword and went along with you against those of our religion, sacrificing our money and lives? All this has been so soon forgotten! X X Fie on you, wicked souls! Are you so impudent? Are you ridiculing me, plunged in meditation? Is it your wish to destroy our Moslem Empire? Are you thinking of paying back old scores? Are you thinking of completing the subjugation of the Turkish Empire which your forefathers could not accomplish? What an injustice have you stooped to? Do you think, "Why should we have a Turkoman Empire in the midst of our countries? Do you fancy that that muhammadan blood does not flow in our veins. X X. Our muhammadan religion cannot be shaken, even if the earth and the sky change

places, and mountain peaks fall to the ground. X X. It will last as long as the earth lasts, dispite your evil machinations. Do we brook even an insult to that religion? If the Hindus and Musalmans are united, can we not keep at bay the whole world? Arise and come with us, Oh, Hindu brethren! We must forget our old differences. Arise! arise! and help us. X X. Do not forget that we are sons of the same Mother. Arise! arise! do not delay! Let us first seek to secure freedom for our Mother-land. Come! let us try in every way to do that. Unless we are first free we cannot accomplish anything. Do not think that any one who is born a muhammadan will draw back. If they did, they would commit suicide. X X X X. Listen to my vow:-

If I belong to a spirited race, if the muhammadan sons are with life, if this is Aryavarta, cannot Shaukat Ali hew down lightly, without shrinking, even a crore of Rakshashas, even if the earth and sky are dislocated!

Then enters Gandhi who preaches to him his doctrine of non-violence, the path of prahlada, exposing the futility of the methods of Napoleon etc, the policy of Great Britain to America, of Germany of Ireland, and of the bureaucray here, and converts him to his doctrine. Then both go to proclaim their message at the Calcutta Congress.

<u>Scene ii.</u> This contains the arrangements of the <u>Balabhattas.</u> (boy scouts) for the Calcutta Congress and closes with a melukolupu (awakening) song address to the son of India.

<u>Scene iii.</u> This contains the speaches of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Calcutta National Congress and that of the President, Lala Lajput Rai, containing:-

X X. Freedom has gone down and happiness has disappeared; how can Mother India have freedom? Offence has been given to religion; how can the muhammadans be pacified? X X. How can we chastise, in a just way, the great <u>Kiratas</u> (lit those of the hunter's caste, but generally meaning hard-hearted and cruel persons) who made blood flow in streams, striking our Punjab brethren, who were unable to

show their indignation having been disarmed and who were living corpses by reason of their valour having been stamped out. X X. To whom will not the wealth of India be an eye-sore? X X X. How much money has been carried away by means of trade, and how much, as contribution to war? What was it that subjected us to injustice and ruined us? Are there any arts that the people of India do not know? X X X. Take a vow to use none but swadeshi articles. X X. Mahatma Gandhi is going to move his resolution on non-cooperation X X. I am one of those who, on the whole, accept it X-X. (PP.17-32)

Act III.

Session of the Calcutta Congress............

30,000 people.

Gandhi moves his resolution about non-cooperation, prefacing that having been first shown by Plahlada, it is in keeping with the traditions of India, Nehru before seconding it asks three questions:-

O Indians! do you like to sit in the Legislative councils in response to the call made by patting you with hands dyed with the blood of a thousand Punjab brothers of yours, massacred without any grounds?

Do you wish to go to the courts of justice of a Government who have done a grave injustice to the religion of the muhammadans without shrinking a bit from uttering falsehoods?

Do you like to destroy your self-respect and sustain loss by sending your boys to the schools of those who have put innocent infants to various sufferings, flogging them for no reason with horsewhips, and making them walk a distance of 16 miles under the scorching sun?

There are cries of 'No, No' from the audience and Nehru says "then adopt this vow of non-cooperation. X X"

Then comes the amendment of B.C. Paul and Shaukat Ali rises and says:-

X X Gentlemen! Please consider the present condition of our country. They have confined within cells muhammadan youths who

are like sharpened swords. They have shut up in a cage the Rajaputs who are born-heroes. They have bound down hand and foot the Gurkhas who are well-known for their fierce might. They have gagged the mouth of the Eloquent Bengalees. They have kept in fetters the race of Ranjit, who are lions in war. They have made young men, women. They have muzzled the old. They have begun to bind down even boys. Alas! It is hard to bear these hardships any longer, gird up your loins, and come forward devoted to the service of your mother-land. The races of Kings who rule with <u>Dharma</u> have not fallen. Ministers who are ~~experts~~ experts in state-craft have not disappeared. The Kshatriya seed, the seat of might and prowess has not died out. The Muhammadan race, at once faithful and statesmanly, has not perished. Alas! fallen on evil days, we are like ~~sox~~ smouldering embers covered over with ashes. Shake off the ashes and come forward devoted to the service of mother land and show your inherent fire X X. Our race cannot sleep until the Khilafat question is settled satisfactorily to us and so as to leave no insult to our Khilafat. X X. The Punjab atrocities have been causing incessant heart burning to us all. Until adquate reparation is made in regard to these matters and swaraj is won which is essential for preventing the recurrence of such perverse acts in future, we cannot have peace. If both of us unite like milk and water, victory is ensured. X X. I was one of those who held that salvation cannot be had by peacrful means. But I gave up that idea on account of the preaching of this mahatma and firmly believe that non-cooperation is the only weapon left to us. X X. Mrs Besant speaks against the resolution and Sarala Devi rises with an appeal to men and women of India to follow the programme of Gandhi, citing ancient traditions, She concluded with:-

Sisters! stop at least hereafter your husbands from going to courts of justice; mothers! put a stop to the education of your dear sons which is grinding them and sucking the sap out of them;X X.

After the speech of Malavya, Mr. Gandhi is given an opportunity to give his reply in the course of which he asks the audience, whether a favour (reforms) granted with hands dyed with the blood

of the Indians is to be realised and invokes the spiritof Tilak which appears and recommends to the audience the adoption of non-cooperation, the Satyagraha vow of Prahlada, the new doctrine of Mr. Gandhi", which is the remedy for evil doing and a means to establish Dharma

Dharma. which is the weapon of adamat which stamps out slavery and establishes freedom, X X X, which prevents the manifestation of a Rakshasatva (the quality of a rakshasa) and enables us to know God X X".

The resolution about non-cooperation is passed.

Act IV.

X X X X X

Scene 3.

Enter Gandhi, Malavya, Nehru, Muhammed Ali and Shaukt Ali and Lala Lajput Rai, who meet to discuss and come to one opinion about non-cooperation which was decided upon by the Congress, but about some details of which Malayya and Lajapat Rai differ. Muhammad Ali in a speech in which he recommends to Malavya the disaffiliation of the Benares university remarks, "Our country cannot recover, unless our youths are forced from this Rakshasic education" Gandhi requests Malavya to shake off his doubts saying,

Day by day the Government is growing harder, recognising no morality, not only does justice gradually decline, but also the Government is taking to wrong ways; the administrative policy is growing very bad from day to day; as we observe, we are reminded of the acts of the Ravanasura (a demon king); the bonds of our servitude are tightening; life is rendered in-supportable; alas! at least now should this system of Government on the earth undergo a change for the preservation of Dharma. If at this time we shrink back on account of doubts, it will be suicidal. Law courts and schools, are the vital parts of the Government, and if we, by our united effort, capture those, we shall certainly have swaraj in a year. Then Shaukat Ali says, "There need be no doubt that no one who is born as muhammadan will shrink back at this juncture in the face of any

difficulty. Our bodies are like those of lions in a cage; otherwise, who will bear the insult offered to his religion?

They all depart with the decision to put the resolution to the test of popular acquiescence, and abide by the result.

Scene iv. A farce on voting, in which, at a certain polling station, only two illiterate fellows are represented to have been induced to give their votes, one of which becomes invalid, not having been properly marked.

Act V.

Scene i. An interview of Colnel Wedgewood and Mr. Benspoor deliberating upon how to avert a clevamge between England and India. In a foot note in this scene, General Dyer and Sir M. O Dwyer are called "The Punjab Raskshasas"

Scene ii. (Nagapur)

A meeting of the leaders preliminary to that of the Congress in which they discard their differences and become prepared for united action. Malavya proposes some amendments in the non-cooperation resolution in the matter of education. Shaukat Ali says:-

How can our hearts consent to accept the help of a Government which has accumalated sin, offering insult to the Khilafat on the one hand and perpetrating many attrocities in the Punjab on the other? (By doing so), we shall reduce to dust the muhammadan religion and keep the Indians in eternal servitude.

And muhammad Ali adds:- To what dust have they reduced our vernaculars? They are teaching us all a foreign language. They have introduced a system of education calculated to destroy the physical robustness of our youths. Our national customs and national self-respect have gone down and everything has become western. They have been throwing dust in the mouths of 80%, and are benefitting a few. In short how long do you have an education that kills all our own and destroys even our conscience. Why do you hesitate? Take to national education.

X X X X X X

Seeing doubt still lingering in the mind of Malvya, Gandhi tells him that methods such as supplication, persuasion, and negotiation are not of any avail as also taking up arms and enphasises a recourse

to non-cooperation as the only course available. He proposes a change of the Congress creed as regards "British Connection".

Scene iv. Nagpur Congress.

Gandhi moves the resolution regarding the change of Congress creed "which is opposed to justice and Dharma" so as to afford scope for the people to strive to establish swaraj by every means not opposed to Dharma. Lajaput Rai supports it in a speech in which he says to the following effect:-

This change is essential for the adoption of the non-cooperation movement passed in the Calcutta Congress. More over the attitude of the Indian nation towards the English ruling authorities has now undergone a change, who have many times deceived the country and forfeited all confidence. X X. After narrating as instanees the acts of Lord Dalhousie, Lord Curzon and Mr. Lloyd George he proceeds to say the following effect:-

"Why cite individual cases? Are not the very traditions of their rule saturated with deceit? Show me one moral person among the British ruling authorities. Is it Mr. Montagu, General Dyer or Sir M. Odwyer? X X X. In reply to Lord Selbourne, I courageously proclaim to him and his countrymen before this audience of 30,000 persons and through this body that even English people have not the slightest confidence in their administrative policy. The bureaucracy have conceived an evil intention which made them forfeit their prestige. By this I do not mean to say that we have any enmity with the English people. X X. The British bureaucracy, actuated by injustice, have treated us as slaves, and forfeited all our confidence. We have no hate beyond this. We need not break the British connection just now. We only make provision for a necessity that may arise. If even now they respect our regulations, afford scope for our freedom and give us equal treatment with themselves, will we cut ourselves away from them? If, on the other hand they proudly treat us like slaves, how can we live in association with them for a moment? X X. Some have still the hope that they will give us swaraj. Do not any longer entertain any hope that this English

Government will ever grant you equal rights with themselves in the Empire. All such hopes were extinguished when General Dyer perpetrated massacres in the Punjab and Mr. Lloyd George practised deceit on the Islam. Abandon all false hopes. Proclaim you all who are born of the Arya race that you will depend upon your own strenght. Bepin Chandra Pal in supporting the resolution says to the following effect:-

"X X No one that is acquainted with the real traditions and condition of the British Government will entertain any such hopes in their help. The British Empire has two divisions. India belongs to the category of courtries which are peopled by races other than the English. In relation to such countries their chief aim is the desire for gaining material wealth. The western tradition is such. Why should you entertain hopes of connection with a country which is solely bent upon acquiring wealth? Why do you want the help of a Government which seeks its own profit and not the well being of others? Why do you court the friendship of a race that has the arrogance that it is the one best race? Why are you enamoured of a Govennment that rules with crooked intentions and by mere brute-force? They say that we are uncivilised and helpless and are still too ignorant to carry on our own Government. Enough with our connection with them. No reparation has been made for the Punjab massacres perpetrated without distinction of helpless women and children. The conditions destroying the religions self-respect of the Islam have not passed away. The Asura (demoniacal)laws such as the Rowlatt Act which made us forget Ravana (the demon king of Lanka) have not yet been abolished. X X X. Why entertain a hope that they will give us? Enough, awake! X X. Sankaracharya says," X X. To preserve our selfrespect is self-freedom. If we mean to preserve such self-respect, we should not at all cooperate with a wicked Government. To do so is against our religion and honour. X X. Gandhi says, " Suppose that I am a soldier and that Sir M. Odwyer ordered me to fire upon the people at the Jallianwallabagh, to transgress such an order is my duty, dharma and justice. I can assert this firmly. This Congress requires the police and the soldiers to do so. X X. The resolution is adopted.

(Sd.)
5-1-1922.

Selections from acs relating to non-cooperation movement (1920-25)
Proscribed literature :: English book (1923)

XIV. Extracts from Proscribed Englsih Books and Pamphlet by the Madras Government.

Extract from the "Proclamation issued by Jamiat-ul-ulema". (Date of Proscription 21st February--Year 1923--G.O.No.129-Mis. Public.)

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Important declaration of the executive committee of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind.

. . . .

Keeping in view all those facts and incidents which happened during the peace (negotiations) of Turkey and the war between Angora and Greek, this meeting of the executive committee arrives at this conclusion that of all the christian powers, Great Britain is the only power whose behaviour towards Islam and the Turks has been very inimical. She selfishly gave illegal and unrighteous help to the enemies of Islam on all occassions. This has been admittedly revealed by the recent speech of Mr. Lloyd George, the Premier's speech at Manchester. Under these circumstances it is haram for the Muslims of the world to give any such help to this criminal Government which it may use for the destruction or weakening of the Turkish Empire and Islam.

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema makes this religious order known that the Musalmans should not give any financial or military help to any such power which may be bent upon receiving and destroying the Musalmans. If they do so they will be guilty of the same crime which the enemies of Islam are committing. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema wishes to declare it clearly that to attack and kill Mussalmans in support of any tyrant enemy of Islam is to entitle oneself to the curse of God and His Prophet.

Published by (the following Ulemas) Abdul Majid Qadir of Badaun, Mazharuddin Sherkoti, Anwar Shah Deobandi, Mohiuddin of Ajmer, Mohammed Abbas of Ajmer, Mohammed Sadiq of Karachi, Syed Sulieman Nadir, Mohammed Uzar Gul Deobandi, Subhan Ullah of Gorakhpur, Abdul Qadir Azad Subbani, Mohammed Murtaza Hussain of Bijnor, Abdul Azeez of Ajmer, Mohammed. Fakhir of Allahabad, Sanaullah of Amritsar Siraj Ahmad of Deoband, Ahmad Said of Delhi. M. Abdul Hamid of Badaum, Abdul Qadir of Qusur, Kalil-ar-Rahman of Saharanpur, Kafayet Ullah

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of Delhi, Mohammed Sajjad of Behar, Din Mohammed of Sindh, Mohammed Naim of Ludhiana Khuda Bux of Mozaffarpur, Mohammed Farkhund Ali of Sasram, Syed Ahmad of Delhi.

Printed at the Ilmas Press Chhotta Lal Mian Delhi.

SD/- Tassadduk Husain,

26/1/23.

Selections from G.O.s relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat movement (1920-25)
Proscribed literature: Telugu books (1922)

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EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

" SANTA SARANGADHARA NATAKAMU"

G.O. No. 222, (Mis) dated 10-3-1922.

"Santa-Sarangadhara-natakam by Chenikala Chennareddi of Parlapa Proddatur Taluq and Published by Pedda Subbayyachetty and Chinna Subbayya chetty of Proddatur, Cuddapah District.

*****

This book contains no political matter. It is drama possessing some literary merit by a modern poet with a well known plot. It contains indecent discriptions and course and vulgar wit which cannot be tolerated; hence its proscription- A summary of its contents is not considered necessary.

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Selections from G.Os relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat movements Proscribed literature:: Urdu books (1922) (1920-1935) 185

EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

13. G.O.No.238. dated 15th March, 1922, Public: 95

"Nata-i-Bekar" (Lamentation of the Helpless).

"Oh Police men give up tyranny and torture"

Oh Policemen give up tyranny, torture and sticking daggers in your brotheren's neck; Do not be so proud for few days service in this lasting world. Don't disobey the lawful and virtuous orders, but sacrifice yourself because the disobedience is not good as the death awaits for you. When you are not a thief and do not steal anything then why do you not look us in the eyes. Please stop yourselves from doing so. All the Britanic services have been considered as "Harram" illegitimate by "Shariat" or (Islamic law) Therefore give up the eating of such provisions which are "Harram" illegitimate. Give up the pretence of your childrens nourishing because He who gave you life will support maintenance too. Let us know who fed you when you were unborned. Please do not try and find excuses for proud facts. Trust in God as He is the sustainer of all the world. He will support your maintenance at your home even if you don't work Either you are a Mahomedan or Hindu but you are from one mother's breast (country) therefore give up troubling your country brethern. Being in very mother land you must not be the cause of our Murders otherwise you shall have to suffer for it. Don't you remember one day we will have to prove our deeds before "Thee" (God) where it will be impossible to

to hide our faces. Oh detectives don't you fear "God" for God sake give up reporting false news. Oh "has the country love been washed off from your hearts, please give up executing warrants on nationalists or patriots. The time is coming when you will have to repent of your doings therefore previous to that moment you must give up the friendship of enemies. If you are Mahomedan go in accordance to your "Shariat" (Islamic law)" and non-co-operate with the enemies of our religion "Nur" who is there to make the Criminal Investigation Department men understand that they should not attend meetings.

II. "Vex us in all possible ways."

Oh bureaucratics satisfy your desires fully by putting the innocent into Jails and vex us in all possible ways. Confiscate our spears and lathies so that we may not be able to speak yes or no from our mouth and vex us in all possible ways. After taking the sword and spear proclaim even the Martial law, you need not worry about any one and vex us in all possible ways. Take possession of our sacred places (Mecca and Medina) and capture our Khalifa (Sultan of Turkey) and vex us in all possible ways you are proscribing the "Qurran" holy book and trying to make us religion-less and do not call us Mahomedan and vex us in all possible ways. All our "Ulmas" civilized "qulvies have been arrested and put into Jails and we are helpless,

vex us in all possible ways. Without anyones fear arrest all the rest and send them to Jails and hang us like "Mansur" and vex us in all possible ways. xxxxxxx axx Erase us from the world by drowning boats full of us and either blow us up or burn us and vex us in all possible ways. Have you forgotten the God, All your gun, shells and other material of which you are so proud will be of no use at all and vex us in all possible ways.

III. Oh members of the Police and Military.

Oh members of the Police and Military Forces do co-operate with your community and save the honour of "Deen-l-Ahmed" Islam Oh, you are also Mahomedans and the follower of Mustafa Prophet, then what are you thinking about now. Oh my dear do think a little and kick the worldly honours to save your religion. Oh brothere the God is the sustainer of all and hath promised to support and maintain us as clearly stated in a holy version of the "qurran".

IV. Oh Military men abandon your services.

This is the order of the God and His Prophet and Shariat (Islamic law) has also issued a verdict that oh Military men abandon services why are you eating the salt of cruels and sucking the blood of your brothern. Abandon services Oh Military men otherwise your face will be blackened on that day of "Kiamat" end of the world, On having served the Christians why are you being the

murderer o f your brotheren. Angles are also cursing you. Abandon services Oh Military men. What will you answer to God when you will respect the "Kafars" (a word of hatred used for others than Mahomedan) Your Prophet will not be pleased upon you too. Abandon Services Oh Military men. This imperialism is only for few days, don't listen to them now and be a patriot of the Islam. Abandon Services Oh Military men. This world is not for ever and slavery is not a good profession too. Therefore do either of industrial and commercial business and abandon services Oh Military men. God is the sustainer and He will support and has supported and maintained you as He is the creator and all creatures belongs to Him. Abondon services Oh Military men. The Moulvies are now going to Jails, where they are oppressed by the bureaucracy and they are drinking the blood and have sorrow to eat, abandon services Oh Military men. The splendour of Islam has been decreased. Army of the Sultan has been ruined and the Kingdom of the Islam has been robbed off. Abandon services Oh Military men. You have advanced to Medina and fired on its green tower, let us know what will you prove before God, abandon services Oh Military men. You set fire to the veil o f the Kahba and shed blood on the holy land of the Baitalharam, with which the respect of "Kahba Allah" has been ruined, abandon services oh Military men. You have murdered the turks and conquerred the throne of "Sultan" or "Khilafat" abandon services oh military men. The Parda of the ladies was disclosed

their children were separated from them. Were you not shamed at that time. Abandon services Oh Military men. Break the slave - chain of Britain as you have satisfied yourselves fully by having eaten the illegitimate or unlawful mouthfuls and now remove the dirt of your bellies, abandon services oh Military men. After death you will have to repent and will be astonished to see snakes and scorpions and tomb will crush your ribs, abandon services Oh Militarymen. Do something good for your religion and next world. Please listen the advice of Nur and abandon services Oh Military men.

Selections from files relating to Non-cooperation and Khilafat movement. Proscribed literature: Urdu books (1922)

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EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

9. G.O.No.256, dated 21st March, 1922: Public: -195

"ANGREZON-Ki-Akarfun (the arrogance of Englishmen) and" Angrezon-ki-myaon myaon. "(Englishman's mewings).

Pamphlet in Urdu entitled "Angrezon-ki-akarfun" (The arrogance of Englishmen), published by the National Book Depot, Nai Sarak, Delhi, and printed at the "Al Nazim" Press, Delhi.

It is a political poem written on the lines of "Angrezon-ki-kukru-kun" with the verse "My Lord! all my arrogance is gone." Important stanzas are translated below:--

"One Sahib was beating his head and saying--
"My Lord! all my arrogance is gone.
There was a time when we were held in awe
(And) were famous all over the world, (and)
Our stars were on the ascend and
In short we had nothing to fear.
We have never seen any good or bad omen.
My Lord! all my arrogance is gone.

I admit that I was a pauper in the beginning,
That I had not even a single pice worth of a property in my home.
I had no idea of good or bad,
I was contended with what I got,
But what should I say of those things now
That all my arrogance is gone, my Lord.
Since India has come in our hands
We have been completely relieved of our poverty
We were addressed even as Ma bap, Sir and huzur,
Every Indian was so much overtaken with awe
That we could not dare to say a word
My Lord! etc......................

* *** * * * *

But the times are different now,
They have undergone a sudden change,
Indians and their ways have also changed,
They do not care for our orders.
When we pass orders they say "Why do you talk nonsense?

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We made such a prickly law
As may not leave tongue in the mouth or power of
speech in the tongue,
We put such a dagger over the heads
As had edges on both the sides
(And thought that) it would cut them as soon as
they utter a word.

* * * * *

But alas! this plan failed,
They began to speek more than before,
Every body said what he liked,
We lost even our remaining prestige,

* * * * *

We swept them off with volleys of bullets
And burnt a great many to death,
Devastated habitations and cities completely,
We enjoyed shooting behind the screen to our
hearts' content,
Massacred hundreds in a moment.

* * * * *

Even then their tongue could not be stopped in the
least (and)
All their nerve and vigour remained as before and
their heads did not bow in the
least,
They went on talking in their own irrelevant way
Our last strength was gone.
Even then their free way did not abate.

* * * * *

Then we proclaimed martial law and shut the tongues,
Shut the house, shut the city and shut the lanes,
Shut the ways, shut the market and shut the shop
And banned all the necessities of life.
Even then we found that the situation had taken a
different turn.

* * * * *

All the young and old now say
That police and military service is haram.
We have now become strangers to ease and pleasure
Whom am I to gag and whom to bridle,
I am always thinking over this.
My Lord! all my arrogance is gone.
Then we thought of putting them to a further test
(And) to overawe them in some other way
To strike them with the terror of jails
And to suppress them with a strong hand (and thought
that)
If they do not yield otherwise they will yield in this way

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* * * * *

Then we arrested every one we could lay hands on,
We filled the jails with them
Caught any one we liked (and said)
"We will clap you into prison ~~axxprxxxx~~ if speak
like that"
This caused such a fire to spread as we cannot put out.

* * * * *

All our pretentions have proved vain.
Indians could not be moved a single inch.
We have been tired of catching but they have not
been overpowered.
When we caught one ten became ready (to go to jail),
This last weapon has also been rendered usless.
All our jails were filled in a few days,
We were killing them but were ourselves killed.
(The morals of) our prisoners were corrupted to see
them
And they began to worry us more than these
Every one says "Why should I work,"

* * * * *

They regard jail as a play thing,
They said that jail is the way to Swaraj.
We have been roughly handled in a strange way
It is we who have failed in this way examination.

* * * * *

Now I am at my wit's end in every way,
I have been put to shame before the world,
All our policies and weapons have been rendered in-
effective,
In truth I have become mad.
I feel as if I have a lizard in my mouth and
wonder if I should eat it or let it go away.
My Lord! all my arrogance is gone."

Pamphlet in Urdu entiled "Angrezon-ki-mygaon myaon" (Englishman's mewings) published by MUHAMMAD RASHID KHAN, Husainganj, Lucknow, and printed at the "Vidya Bhandar" Press, Lucknow.

It consists of seven national poems--

No. 1 entitled "Englishman's mewings" contains the following important lines--

Since these Indian rats have awakened
Englishmen have begun to mew.

* * * * *

It was our gentlemanliness that we treated them as guests,
We never thought that we have to starve,
We have tasted the fruits of our mistakes full well.
Uncle! pleasure trips to Simla are not easy now,
Even simpletons have now become adepts in treachery
Englishmen have begun to mew,
Dyer has done a service to India,
He had warned us by showering bullets,
He has made us ready to go to jails,
He is not guilty of any inimical act, he has done a friendly act.

No.2, entitled "Oppression of the tyrants" contains the following important lines:--

The hieght of oppression in the vicissitudes of time is about to come.
The world is going to be turned upside down.

* * * * *

Take care O tyrant! give up oppression,
This successful Government is about to end.
When could any one who oppressed the oppressed remain safe?
O suspicions! you are surely going to experience some harm
Do not be in a hurry O restless heart.
Our home is about to be liberated from the bonds of the enemy.
Under the Government of others all our faith and religion has been destroyed.
Let see what more troubles are in store for us.

No. 3 has been composed by 'Trishul'. Some of the important lines are translated below:--

Who should tell that tyrannical Turk
Do not oppress us any more, leave us for God's sake.

* * * * *

We prisoners enjoy our prison life
Let us remain in jail for a few days more.

No.4 entitled "Statement in the court" gives the statement of an ideal nationalist before the court:--

I have neither committed any murder nor dacoity
I am neither a bad character, a robber, nor a thug.
*
* * * * *
I do not know what crime have I committed,
Why has the sentinel arrested me and brought me here?
I have neither used abusive language against the police nor intimidated them
Neither have I ever extended my hand before Government,
Then why do you take offence, Sir ?

I do not know that it was a crime to die for freedom.
* * * * * *
I will undergo thousands of tribulations for the sake of India
But I will liberate my country from the hands of foreigners.

No.5 entitled "Patriotism" contains the following important lines:--

Oppress us to your heart's content with impunity.

* * * * * *

Send worst tyrants than Dyer,
Let no guest who is thirsty for the blood of India ramain unsatisfied.
Murderer! kill us to your heart's content
See that no life is left in our bodies.
Learn the art of legislation from Rowlatt,
Leave no ambition unrealized.

* * * * *
Hang us forthwith or send us to Andamans,
Let no human being breathe freely.

No.6 is headed "Reply to Europe." Important lines are given below:--

The Europeans should not enquire what we are going to do. They have stripped us naked and we are going to strip them naked.
* * * * *

No.7 headed "Exposure of the hollowness of the jail" says that the jails are so over-crowded that the Government is unable to meet the need of prisoners and Mahatma Gandhi has thus scored against Lord Reading.

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

1. PRABHUTVA-GADIBIDA --- GOVERNMENT TROUBLE
and
2. MOIK-ODD-I-TELLA-DORATANAMU-- WE DO NOT WANT WHITE GOVERNMENT.

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Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled "Moik-odd-i-tella-doratanamu"- We do not want white government - by Garimella Satyanarayana , B.A., LtT., of these two ballads the first won country-wide popularity. It stirred up patriotic feeling throughout the whole Telugu country and strenghtened the Non-copperation Movement considerably .

G.O. No. 331, Dated 15th April 1922, Public Department:

A free translation of the leaflet in Telugu:-

My countrymen why don't you cease serving 'the Whites' who have insulted our females. Don't you remember Dyer who killed several by throwing bombs? Are you not ashamed of your slavery? Leave service, wear Khaddar. Dyer and his race will sink into oblivion just as Ravana who insulted Sita.

Though our country is naturally rich we are starving. We should not touch salt. The Government sell brandy etc. for money. The land Revenue is increased every year, we are to do Cooly work and they will rule us. Revenue is collected even though there is no crop. Village karnams are to collect it, they will be reduced if they don't collect under the circumstances. Therefore take to spinning wheel and be non-violent even if they fire us.

They came here for trade, but contrived to get kingdoms and handed them over to Queen Victoria; Her procolamation is now destroyed and they that insist on the fulfilment of the promises laid there in are now sentenced.

They are afraid of Mahathma Gandhi, who is the incornation of 'Dharma' Justice. Swarajya flags are destroyed and they invite us to die.

They kill pregnant cows and eat them. Charkas should never be introduced into schools and we should not wear Gandhi caps.

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They have established law courts to do injustice andto get money. Chittaranjan Das is now in prison. Imitate Chirala patriots. The Government are ashamed of the injustice done to them. They are to rule us.dunder whose authority? Therefore take to charka and destroy the Government.

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Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation and ... movement
Proscribed literature: Telugu books (1922) (1920-192

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS:

"SWARAJYAM-SAHAYANIRAKARANAM"

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Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled "Swarajyam-Sahayanirakaranam" by Madduri Annapurnayya, Secretary , Adhhra Yuvajana Swarajya Sabha, Rajahmundry and printed by Dronamraju Venkataramanarao, keeper of the Vidya Nilaya Press, Rajahmundry.

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This book is condemned as objectionable becuase it offends against Section 124-A. I.P.C. Though the printer gave an unqualified apoplgy, the Publisher refused to give any kind of apology or undertaking. Therefore, the District Magistrate recommended the publisher to be prosecuted under Sec. 124-A. I.P.C.

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G.O. No. 390, Mis. Dated 6th May 1922, Public Department:

Swarajyamu- Sahayanirakaranamu (Non-Co-operation) .

The expression, "Swaraj" is much in vogue at present in this country. We say the Congress is working for swaraj. Mahatma Gandhi said we would get swaraj within one year. A considerable part of that year has passed. Even now, the minds of some of us are clouded with (enveloped in doubts such as these: "What is Swaraj? Why do we want it? How can we secure it? And having secured it, how can we maintain it?" We publish this pamphlet to remove these doubts.

Why is swaraj needed?

Why is swaraj needed? We do not at present enjoy swaraj and we therefore, want it. As expressed by the late Lokamanya Bala Gangadhara Tilak Maharaj, "Swaraj is our birth-right." Swaraj is as essential to the progress of a nation in the world as the atmosphere is for the existence of man. We are not enjoying swaraj at present; it shows that our country is being ruled by others. Our rulers are not our countrymen. They do not belong to our nation. It is needless to discuss the merits and the demerits of the Government. It is our duty to bring the Government to end end, for it is not popular Government, although it may be a good Government. Just as the English people do

not like the Germans to rule their country, however skilful the latter may be as administrators, so also we do not like to be ruled by them (the English nation) however good their Government may be. Would any man, however poor, like to keep his wife or mother under the control of others? It is highly shameful for all the sons of this country (India) to keep Mother India under the control of others. However good foriegn rule may be, it cannot be equal to swaraj. A strong effort should, therefore, be made to expel it (the foreign Government from the country).

We have said that it is not right to submit to the present English Government, though it may be good. But, the question whether the English Government is good, requires to be examined a little. In 1600 A.D. the English set their feet in our country and began to trade. They were making enormous profits. Having obtained some special concessions (privileges) in commercial matters through the patronage (grace) of the Moghul Emperors who were then the rulers of our country, they made enormoous profits and even acquired some territory. They were acquiring territory and were carrying on trade at the same time. It was on account of their trade that the crafts of our country died. Handicrafts and industries were destroyed. They were importing from England cloths and other articles and were sending back to that country several crores of rupees which they had earned by the sale of such goods. For lack of wealth, the country became the abode of the goddes of famine. Though the whole country has been taken into their possession (charge), the drain of wealth going from our country to England is unlimited (boundless). The English are robbing our country of her wealth in many ways.

1. The stream of wealth which is gathered (collected) in this country by means of taxes and which goes to England every year for the maintenance of the India office there, and for the payment of pensions to the English officials, and as interest on the English capital expended on railways etc is the first. If we govern our country ourselves, we can

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put a stop to this drain of wealth.

2. The maintenance of a large army which is unnecessary for the requirements of our country, the participation in wars in which our country has no conceRN (interest) lead on that account to the incurring of excessive military expenditure. This expenditure which has been steadily increasing, has exceeded 60 crores this year. Much of it is being spent on the white soldiers.

3. The enormous expenditure for administration is the third. The appointment of Englishmen to offices carrying large salaries and the gradual increase in the number of highly paid officials are facts which should be noted in this connection. The above items of expenditure are not incurred for the well-being of the country. The taxes collected from the poor ryots are being wasted in this way.

4. Owing to the establishment of the English rule (in this country) the indegenous industries have died, and even the clothes for ordinary wear have to be imported from a foreign country. 60 crores of rupees worth of piece-goods are being imported from England every year into our country. To develop their own industries, they have imposed heavy tariffs on articles made in our country, and have thus killed our industries, and brought the country to this low position. If the Government is carried on in the interests of the country, such a lot would certainly not befall us!

5. Government are causing great loss to our countrymen also in the matter of exchange. By altering the rate of exchange between the rupee and the soverign from time to time to suit the interests of their own commerce, they have deceived our merchants and have cuased excessive loss to our country. It was owing to these alterations in the rate of exchange that our country sustained last year a loss of 60 crores of rupees. It is because the country is in the hands of foreign rulers that all the above expenses are being incurred. This perpetual drain of wealth from

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our country (to England) is enough to show the end and aim of the present Government of our country.

Not only has the country become the abode of poverty as was said above, but Indians are also being subjected to intolerable humiliations on account of the British Government. The rulers have been making a distinction in every respect between the dark inhabitants of the country and the white foreigners. It appears no high offices should be given to a black man, however intelligent he may be. A black man, it seems, is not worthy of respect, however learned, intelligent, and well-behaved he may be. For offences (committed) the whites have a separate trial and a different punishment. Every day we see the acquittal in many cases under some pretext or other, of white men by judges, however grave the offences committed by them may have been. When the Government themselves act in this manner, every whiteman treats our countrymen with supreme contempt and holds his (a black man's) life very cheap (light). Our countrymen therefore have a sort of fear on seeing a whiteman, and their self respect is dying. If the country continues to be in this state for some more years, the sense of self-respect and individuality characteristic of human beings, will completely die out.

Ever since they took our country into their charge, they have been considering how (best) to maintain their rule and have been governing it by means of repressive legislation. Enforcing the Arms Act, they have made us to use(tough) arms. Making us thus weak and effiminate they have destroyed (killed) our manhood. Unarmed and helpless though we are, they are well aware that we (Indians) possess much intellectual and moral power. To destroy even that, they have devised a system of education, held out vicious (evil) temptations (in our way) by saying that that they would grant us high office, if we receive their (that) education and have thus made us drink the poison of such education. It is but an empty dream that we would be given high offices. Sharpness

of intellect and a free económic existence have completely died out becuase of this education. When national leaders like Tilak and Lajpat Rai had tried to creat a desire for Swaraj among the people, Government through a spirit of heart-burning sought to suppress them by the employment of repressive laws. Thus they have been trying continuously by means of these repressive laws to kill the desire for swaraj in the country by the imprisonment, transportation and humuliation of several national saviours (uplifters). Under the seditious Meetings Act, they are prohibiting many public meetings while under the Press Act they are taking securities from the nationalist journals. They have also infringed (violated) the right of free speech.

When such is the state of affairs in our country we are being treated as slaves in such British colonies as East Africa and the Fiji . They have deprived our countrymen in the colonies of their house-sites, commercial privileges and voting rights.

Besies, many have been the horrible indignities to which the Government have subjected our nation within the last two years. During the recent dreadful war, we had extended immense military and pecuniary help to the British for which they promised to give us swaraj at the end of the war. But ever since its termination in November 1918, they have carried on the bureaucratic Government, enforced the Rowlatt Act, perpetrated the Punjab massacres, and broken their pledges by doing grave (terrible) injustice to the Muhammadans. Brother Indians! Have you understood the significance of the continuance of the British Government in the country?

1. To make the country the abode of famine by destroying its industris for the benefit of the British merchants and the British people;

2. To maintain with the taxes collected from you an army not required for the country but is for the benefit of the British;

3. To support the costliest officialdom not to be met with in any other country in the world;

4. To crush (destroy) the manliness and heroism in you by disarming you under the operation of the Arms Act;

5. To encourage the sale of intoxicants which sap (destroy) the moral and the physical strength of the people of the country under the pretext that it is difficult to carry on the Government (without it).

6. Ever to kill your desire for swaraj when you want it and agitate for it, and deceive you by saying that they would give you swaraj but grant only nominal and mirage-like Reform Acts.

7. To treat your brother Indians in the colonies not as human beings at least, but regard them as even worse than brutes.

Such is the meaning of the existence of the British Government in the country. No sensible person can make bold to say that a Government which has brought your country to such a pass (condition) is for the good of the country. We said at first it was necessary to end the Government, as it was foreign (Government) though it might be good. We have shown how, on account of this Government, the country has been benefited in the past. The necessity for ending this Government has now become clear. We have so far discussed the need for swaraj. We shall now explain what swaraj is. The duties which a government has to fulfil in every country are two-fold.- the imposition of taxes and their expenditure for the happiness of the subjects. If these two functions are discharged in accordance with the wishes of the subjects, well it is swaraj. But for the present, we have not got this power.

Even our Government have admitted that it is not wrong we should have the desire for swaraj and that they are trying to fit us it(Swaraj). They are loudly proclaiming that the political reforms they granted to us in 1919 form the first step to (the edifice of Swaraj. But these reforms are like a mirage.

They say that we are not yet fit for complete swaraj, and that in politics we are only in the infant stage. A man becomes fit for independent life, as soon as he completes his eighteenth year. But it is not understood how the English are not ashamed to say that India is not fit for swaraj, although she has had training in politics for the last 150 years at the hands of the British Government.

It is the duty of the Government to make us fit for swaraj. But caring for their own interests, they are not in the least helping us. Why are we not fit? Are there not intelligent men among us? Are there not astute Statesmen among our member? It is not that these are wanting. But Government have not given to (our) balckmen opportunities to take part in politics. Instead of saying, 'you are unfit' 'you are unfit' why not they give us our raj and see? If we were unfit for swaraj, there would not have been in our country the mighty Hindu and the Muhammadan Empires in the past. Did not Emperors like Chandragupta Asoka, Akbar and Sivaji ably govern our country before? Were there not (in our country) in the past statesmen and economise like Chanakka and Todar Mall? The peace which had prevailed in the country before the advent of the British in an evidence of it. Civilisation has now advanced further than in the past; and for that reason freedom is specially needed. It is absolutely foolish and unjust for the English to say that Indians are not fit for swaraj; rather it would be well if they say that they would not grant it (swaraj). But Englishmen need not give it. We can earn it ourselves. Has not self Government been carried on intelligently in Mysore, Baroda and the other native states? Who are the rulers there? The King is an Indian, the minister is an Indian, and the officials are (all) Indians. And yet Indians are unfit to govern India! Ah! How absurd it is! There is the least exaggeration in saying that we are fit for awaraj. It is known to all that we can govern our country. When every nation in the world enjoys freedom,

why should the Indians alone not enjoy it? How long shall we continue to remain in a State of vassalage without clothes to wear and food to deat. Tears trickle down from our eyes when we look at the present condition of India. Everyone can understand the need for immediate swaraj. Every one should employ all his money and work to the utmost of his ability for the attainment of swaraj. But have we not laboured for swaraj till now? Some patriots have tried, but have failed. It will be understood from the following circumstances why their attempts have failed.

A few patriots had established the (Indian) National Congress in 1885 to pray to the Government for the removal of the defects in the administration and for the execution of works of public utility. Since then, the congress has been meeting every year in large cities. At these meetings, they would criticise the defects in the system of administration and represent the whishes of the people to the Government. But all their representations had been cries in the wilderness and their memorials consigned to the waste-paper basket. In general, the British bureaucratic Government was carried on against the wishes of the people, whose opinion was unheeded and whosex consent was regarded unnecessary. Twenty years had thus passed. Mr. Dadabai Naoraji, the grand Old Man of India, who had presided over the congress of 1906 made it clear that the ideal for our country was the attainment of swaraj and not the removal of (certain) minor defects in the administration. Since then, the two political parties known as the Nationalists and the Moderates have come into existence. In the congress of 1907 held at Surat, thedifferences between the Nationalists and the Moderates became acute and the meeting ended in a fiasco. From that time till 1916, the Government had won over the Moderates and helped them. The Moderates controlled the National congress and had free play (in it). It was in this connection that the leader of the Nationalists, the Lokamanya Bala Gangadhara Tilak was punished with imprisonment.

Realising that internal dissensions were detrimental to the well-being of the country, the two parties united in 1916. It was Providential that the great European war had then begun. They had proclaimed that they would protect the small states, extend the principle of self-dater mination to all the nations grant responsible government to India and establish peace and justice, and wanted our help. As the Sultan of Turkey who was fighting on the side of the enemy was the religious, head of the Muhammadans, they promised that they would not cause difficulties either to their spiritual head or to their holy places and sought their help. The muhammadans and the Hindus then joined together and by rendering immense help in men and money, saved the British Empire. The English won (the war). Blinded by lust (tut), after the close of the war they began to act with arrogance and recklessness (literarlly disregarding the eye and the sky). The greed for Empire became very strong avarice (the desire for wealth) increased. Without shrinking back even in the lease from Adharma (unrighteousness) and regardless of what is damnable and despicable, they enforced the Rowlatt Act in the face of public opinion and of the unanimous and emphatic protest of the members of the legislative council. Under this Act, rigorous punishment may without trial be inflicted on persons merely suspected as seditionaists. The subsequent dreadful massacres of the Punjab, the flogging with whips, the capital punihsments, the transportations, the punishments without trial, the Jallianwallah Bagh murders, and the outrages committed on the modesty of Indian women are known to all. The great culprits who had perpetrated these atrocities were defended for their acts, instead of being punished. Government forfeited the confidence of the Muhammadans as they had failed to carry out the promises made to them. Instead of showing repentence for the wrongs which they have done to the Indians, the Government has continued to exercise (its) bureaucratic power.

At this juncture, Mahatma Gandhi, who may be said to be the Bhagavan Sri Krishna incarnating for the country's uplift (deliverence) preached the doctrine (principle) of non-co-operation to the country. The special session of the National Congress of September 1920 which met at Calcutta under the presidentship of Mr. Lala Lajput Rai, the ornament of India accepted the principle of non-co-operation of t e Mahatma. It was resolved also at the Nagpur session that the non-co-operation movement was the only chief means for the attainment of swaraj.

Non.co-operation. 116

What is meant by non-coperation? "No Government(state(is possible without the consent of the people. The British are ruling against the wishes of the people in our country. It therefore, behoves the people to paralyse the Government by stopping to help it in any way and , by the adoption of peceful means made it yield to public opinion. We have to go on strike, so to say, against the Government, and make them act in accordance with our wishes." Non-violence is the very life (vital centre(of this movement. There should be non-violence in thought, word and deed. Whatever troubles Government may create in this war of righteousness, we should continue the struggle with peaceful minds and without brute-force, relying mainly on our soul-power.

The non-violent non-co-operation movement is indeed wonderful. A doubt may arise as to how it can win success. Our Puranas (ancient writings) proclaim the triumph of non-cooperation. How in the past the boy Prahalada bore all the troubles to which he had been subjected by his father maintained peace, adhered to truth and Dhrama, became a devotee of Vishnu and triumphed in the end is known to (us) all. Beises what we learn from (apart from) our puranas, (we find that) the peoples of Egypt and Korea have also won swaraj by adopting this method. Egypt has been in the hands of the English for the last 40 years.

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Duning the recent war, the English had made it a Protestorate and began to exercise their power (over it). The Egyptians did not like it, and sent an ambassador to the Peace Conference, but it was disallowed. Zuglul Pasha and three others (then) tried to proceed to England, but the Government prohibited them from going and imprisoned thmm at Malta. The imprisonment of the leaders led to the prevalence of some anarchy. The English committed some horrible (serious) murders among the people when the people adopted non-co-operation at once and began to boycott the Government. Government officials gave up their offices coolies struck work, and students boycotted schools. At this juncture, Lord Milner was sent to Egypt in 1919 to solve the Egyptian question. But his presence was most scrupulously avoided and he was boycotted by all the people (both young and old) in Egypt. Lord Milner then came back to England, described the Egyptian conditions, and made known the tenacity of the Egyptians and their desire for swaraj. Thus they obtained swaraj.

The Koreans under the domination of the Japanese, followed non-co-operation in a similar manner underwent innumerable troubles, and at last obtained a triumph. We too can attain swaraj by the adoption of non-co-operation. Its salient features are:---

1. The boycott of Legislative Councils: The congress has resolved that as the new political reforms granted by the Government to the people do not give them any power, are unsatisfactory and disappointing, they should be boycotted. In this we have achieved complete triumph. Only 20% of them voted. The present members are, therefore, not the representatives of the people.

2. The boycott of Government schools: Consider how shameful it is to receive education in schools under the management of a Government which has completely forfeited the confidence of the people by the perpetration of the Punjab massacres and the Khilafat wrong. The present system

of education for our boys always inculcates service under a foreign Government and loyalty to a foreign rule. It does not indicate the wyas the the means for the development of our indegenous industries arts and agriculture. We should, therefore, withdraw our boys from Government schools and preserve our self-respect. We should establish national schools and send our boys to them.

3. It is necessary to understand that the Government has been able to get on without let or hindrance solely through the courts. The courts are mainly responsible for the Government gaining a permanent hold on (footing in) this country, for the spirit of union among the people is being destroyed by such courts. Besides, as justice is not done in the British courts, lawyers should give up their profession cause their parties and fellow lawyer s boycott them (the British courts) and settle the cases cheaply and justly by the establishment of Panchayats.

4. Boycott of foreign goods: We are spending 60 crores of rupees every year on Foreign cloths. We should, therefore, boycott foreign cloths, introduce the spinning-wheel into every house, spin yarn, weave it into cloths, and scrupulously wear only swadeshi clothes, though they be rough. The drain of wealth which goes to a foreign country will thus be stopped and indegenous industries will flourish. The scarcity for (famine for) cloth will disappear, and there will be no lack of food and clothing (for the people).

5. Prohibition of drinking: Besides the waste of money and the imparing of bodily health which drunkenness brings upon the people, 17 crores of rupees are on this account uselessly going to the Government every year. The people should, therefore, abandon this vicious habit and make strenuous efforts to see that others do so.

Besides the above items, the All India-Congress-Committee which met at Bezwada on the 31st March and on the 1st of April resolved that the following programme should be completed before the 30th June.

1. The aim of the Congress is the attainment of swaraj for (by) the Indians by all legitimat and peaceful means. A crore of men should express their desire for swaraj by accepting it.

2. The collection of a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

3. The introduction and working of 20 lakhs of spinning wheels throughout the country.

The programme was xbrought to a successful close through the ability of Mahatma Gandhi. This is the first step in the attainment of swaraj. More than a crore of rupees was collected. 20 lakhs of spinning-wheels were established. Swadeshi clothes are being largely used all over the country. Members also are enlisting themselves. Mahatma Gandhi has indicated what we should do in future. The anniversary of the Lokamanya Bala Gangadhara Tilak comes off on the 1st August. Every one should take a vow to boycott foreign cloth and wear swadeshi clothes by that date at least.

This is the new message of the Mahatma.

"The (new) programme laid down at the Bezwada session was completed by the 31st June. The heart of India is resounding with the cry (music) of swaraj and the figure (form) of swaraj is indeed openly dancing there. Having accomplished very easily the practical programme fixed by the Bezwada meeting, the Indian nation has itself realised and has revealed to the world its soul-force. The self-realisation of the people in the attainment of swaraj has been manifested by the practical programme of work they have carried out. Time will reveal how with the help of the people the Mahatma will employ for swaraj its power which has been flowing, in an uninterupted course, in the heart of the people.

Mahatma Gandhi has decided that the swaraj fund should be utilised for the national schools and for the anti-drink propaganda. The following views expressed by the

the Catholic Herald about the swaraj fund set forth Gandhi's devotion to Dharma; " When Gandhi drives spiritual idea into the hearts of the Indians, no nation in the world can dare interfere with India. That of Gandhi is the very best policy. It would be mean not to perceive its beauty. Gandhi has set himself to (the task of) the construction of the Indian nationality on their peaceful character and not on the despciable blameworthy brute-force. To respect the humble and those that live by manual labour, to possess self-confidence and self respect, and to be able to live without begging to combat the slavery of the westerners to sensual enjoyments, are the means for the attainment of swaraj. The reconsiliation of the principles of humanity with political life is the soul of swaraj." The agitation which had been carried on till now for swaraj had nothing to do (no connection) with the life of the people. Leaders who could not discover the spirit (power) of swaraj in the heart of the people, were seeing it in their doctrines, debates and Legislative Council discussions. There was inconsistnecy between the (leaders) words and actions. The swaraj-spiit which has now incarnate in born in the heart of the people. When the swaraj-personality has manisfested (revealed) itself to a crore of Indians, the spirit of swaraj (form) can move about the country in endless varieties of playfulness. When a crore of devotees fix (implant) the swaraj spirit in their heart and worship it with steadfast devotion, swaraj is sure to materialise (manifest itself) very soon.

OUR DUTY.

But the work done so far is after all not great. The collection of a crore of rupees has only increased the burden (of responsiblities of Mr. Gandhi. The time is come when people should work with more zeal and greater tenacity. The All-India Congress Committee whoch will ~~meet at Bombay on the 22nd instant may formulate~~

which will meet at Bombay on the 22nd instant may formulate (a programme comprising such items as passive resistance civil disobedience, and the non-payment of taxes. We have stated that the Congress may order the non-payment of taxes. Why should it (the congress) not issue (lay down) such a command? Why should we pay taxes to the Government? For taking the taxes, Government should protect the lives, property and honour of the people and educate boys and girls. But the Government is not doing at present any one of these duties. Strictly speaking (if we well consider) it is unjust in these circumstances, that we should pay taxes to the Government. What the Congress should consider is whether (the spirit of) union and the desire for swaraj have largely spread among the people. The success which has attended the Bezwada programme has made clear the fact that the desire for swaraj is very great among the masses. It is therefore probable that the Congress would urge the non-payment of taxes. Let us now consider passive resistence. They are unnecessarily imprisioning and troubling many congress propagandists. The orders which are being passed by the Government are quite unjust. How long will the people submit to orders which are in conflict with their conscience (soul). The Congress may, therefore, take a step forward also in this reppect. It behoves the people to show at such a time much meekness, a sense of restraint, self-confidence, and self-respect. Officials and their admirers (friends) will make mighty attempts to arrest (combat) the spirit of Non-co-operation movement. They will intimidate and punish the propagandists. They will prohibit speeches (lit. bind the speech). What taxes are withheld, they will sell away properties by auction. In such a case, it behoves the people at large to emulate the great spirit of sacrifice self-control, and sense of social union, which the inhabitants of Chirala and Perala are now showing, and refrain from purchasing the auctioned property. ~~Government~~

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~~and refrain from purchasing the auctioned property.~~ Government will create all sorts of obstacles to spoil the practical work for swaraj. Nevertheless, we shall be able to attain complete swaraj before the end of this year, if believing in Mahatma Gandhi, we fully carry out the non-violent con-co-operation programme with a spirit of self-restraint and with self-confidence.

Bharat Mata Ki Jai and Mahatma Gahdi Ki Jai !

Foot Note:

On the title page, the author quotes a Telugu poem from a book known as "The swarjya Samasya" by Balijepalli Lakshmikantakavi of Guntur. The following is a translation of it into English:-

"Untol the vicious devils who murdered the Punjab patriots are punished, until the Khilafat question is settled in a way favourable to the Muhammadan brethren until the terrible Rowlatt Act subversive (desctructive) of national honour and ideals is extinguished, until the silly Acts based on racial exclusiveness are destroyed-why count this and that until we secure the establishment of full swaraj, blessed and unrestrained, does it behove now the sons of India to sleep".

Sd. B.Somasundara Rao, 5.4.22.

Acting Telugu Translator to Government.

TRUE COPY

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MCA.K [the British had to be given employment and work. They had to be weakened by internal disputes and had to be prevented from using their force against the British. Employment was available to the English armies off and on as a result of the existence of these states. Marx very well described these rulers of Indian states. He said:-- "They are tools in the hands of the British. They are proper servants to protect the present intolerable system of Government."]

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G.O.No.462 Confdl. Dated 25-5-1922.

Extracts from a speech delivered by Vedantam Lakshmikantam (16 pages) at a meeting held at Tenali, Guntur District on the 30th November 1921 are submitted. Subject:-- Non-co-operation. Audience:-- 300 to 400. Chairman:-- Itikala Suryanarayana. The speech was recorded in shorthand and the notes and a Telugu transcript are on record.

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** ** Now civil disobedience means the establishment of complete swaraj, that is the establishment of a parallel Government to the one existing now. Substitution of panchayat courts for these courts; the destruction of this police (force) and forming the Rama Dandy (Army); (by these means) they will be stopped by next January. They have been imprisoning several. They are still continuing. But we will imprison them from January onwards.

* * * * They will imprison us till the 31st of December. After that we will not

What Gandhi said was that tomorrow or the day after the whole army will be complete (completely on our side). * * To-morrow our Rama Dandu (Army) should be able to perform all the duties of the police.

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submit.   *   *   * This Government is like a cobra. We must trample down such a wicked people (Government). We have neither swordnor stick. So saying they (the Government) are annoying us.   *   *   *   *   *

*   *   This widowed and loafer Government is like the base dog who has the despicable quality of munching a bit of shoe. Because we have no arms they are treating us in that fashion. They cannot have more good sense than a big on a dung heap. Such will exist wickedness and imprisoning.   *   *   *

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Extracts from a speech delivered by Vedantam Lakhshmikantam (35 pages) at a meeting held at Penapad, Tenali, Guntur District, on the 26th November 1921 are submitted. Subject:--Non-co-operation. Audience:--200. Chairman:-- Tummulur Kotiah. The speech was recorded in shorthand and the notes and a Telugu transcript are on record.

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*   *   Look at our Kondavati Kings and Nuzvid kings. They are our real kings and not these kings who rule the kingdom without staying in the country for so long a time.   *   *   Whenever there is decay of righteousness I am born to protect sadhus and to punish the wicked and to destroy unrighteousness and to establish righteousness (Quoted from "Gita"). Now our country has reached the zenith in wickedness and in bad deeds.   *   *   *

*   *   We have come to this horrible state. For that only that "Paramatma" (God) is born as an

incarnation. That great man has taken the form of Gandhi. He is Mahatma Gandhi. * * * * * There is no king in our country. George V who is over our country is not a native of our country and does not belong to our caste, creed or religion. They are white men. It is a great fault. * * * * * * Why do you want such kings who sit at a distance of 8000 miles not knowing the difficulties of the people? * * *

When the Raksha of the foreign country (foreign Government) and the servants of Ravana's kingdom are dragging our Mother (India) catching the tuft of hair, is it not shameful on your part to remain still in service?

Our difficulties have increased. So our present king is not our king. We do not see him. If there is king now he is in gosha. What is the use of such a king? * * * In our country the English shoot us who are unarmed and they are not fighting with their equals. * * * *

The moment we learn that this is a wicked Government that this is ~~Hiranya Kasyapa's Government~~, Raksha's Government that this is Hiranya Kasyapa's Government, that this is inimical, we must be prepared to kill it and not be afraid. From us some new force is emanated. * * *

* * I pray you to be ready and sacrifice money and lives for swaraj and do not be afraid of the English and the police. * * *

Selections from GOs relating to non cooperation movement etc Proscribed literature. Telugu Books (1922) (1922-1927)

VII. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Summary of A Telugu book entitled "Swarajya Gitamulu". Says of a country IInd Part written by Sri Garimella Satyanarayana in the Year 1922.

G.O.No.466, dt.26th May, 1922, Public Department. 128

Translations of objectionable passages from the "Swarajya Gitamulu" (The Swaraj Songs), Part II, from page 33, by the Telugu Translator to Government.

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Section XIV. The Satanic Government.

Burden: Salutations, Oh! revered sir! We cannot be, Oh! Sir! We cannot let this satanic Government continue any more.

1. He set foot in the house, revered sir, saying that he did so for trade and setting foot, he began to commit theft.

2. The kingdom which was like the sea of milk is broken, sir. Though one works for cooly (wages), there is no food for the stomach.

3. This is the land where sastras were recited sir, (but now) there is not a word in the mouth of even one in a hundred.

4. We had brought down to the ground dreadful enemies, sir (but now) we are no match even for a corpse.

5. He has livied taxes even on (?) planks of timber and fuel, sir. (He) seizes the small tuft of hair on the head, puts (the people) in jails and keeps (lit. goes) wringing (them).

6. A tax on salt, a tax on dhal, a tax when going to town and a tax, sir, when a little lock of hair is dedicated to God.

7. He has brought toddy and arrack, made the house an empty shell, sir; even the pustes (a small gold disc) worn by married women round their neck) on the neck of the wife have gone.

8. He has put in differences between brothers, sir, and has knocked out of us all we had and is puffed up (become fat).

9. He has brought together dreadful laws, sir, and having done so, stuffed clothes into the mouths (of the people).

10. One should not stir or speak or even tell (one's difficulty and should not move about with some respect among the people (lit. ten people).

11. He has constructed a money channel from Madras up to his country

(England) and has put watchmen on it.

12. He has abolished (lit. stopped) the panchayats and set up the courts, sir, and having established the latter, kicked atthe food of the ryot.

13. He has opened schools saying he would teach for the F.A. and the B.A., sir, and caused (them) students raise loans and sell away the fields (they had.

14. Levying a great (lit. a bowl full) tax, (he) beats (us), sir, and expends (lit. pours out) it on the police and the sergeants.

15. He says, sir, (it) is not enough for education (and Sandhya the twilight prayers) and (he) says he would put (us) in jail should (we) move the lips, sir.

16. He makes an assault (at us). As if (this) is his grandfather's country and giving (us) salaries, places fire among ourselves.

17. While we go about with patriotism, sir, he torments us saying that (we) are traitors to the king.

18. When races on a par with us are ruining us, sir, he places (something) to obstruct the (his) mouth and will not speak.

19. When in Africa and America (they) press us down and beat us, sir, unable to do anything (he) weeps along with us.

20. When (we) ask for justice as a recompense for the Punjab murders (he) plays dishonest (lit. thievish) tricks saying forget (them).

21. (He) does not consider, sir, the breaking of promises (lit. going back on what he has said) and ruining (lit. sinking thehouses) the people and (they) have become his habit.

22. When a sowcar with the scale pans of a balance is asked to rule the earth (lit. wheel of the earth), sir, what else can he do than make it (weigh) more or less.

23. He will not say (he) is a useless ruler, sir, and is very conceited that (he) is a man of morals.

24. He has brought foreign (English) yarn and mull. ruined (us), sir, and made us stand in the streets without a cloth.

25. He had cut off the thumbs which spin yarn, sir, set on fire the art of the spinning wheel and incurred blame.

26. Mixing up righteousness and rank in water (he) has brought conceit, sir, and sent away the eternal civilisation.

27. By a trick he has made the virtuous sense escape (lit. extricate itself), sir, and fixed (his) mind on service and wealth.

28. Our Mahatma Gandhi is born again, sir, saying, "I will bring back our ancient civilisation".

29. Without talking about him or thinking of his affairs, sir, we shall spend the time as told (us) by the Congress.

30. We will no longer go to the toddy shed, sir, and will live comfortably with (our) children and the rest.

31. If (we) mount up the gateway of the court, (we)are the same as the dog, sir, and a slap with the shoe may be given on the cheek.

32. We will listen to the words of men of respectability, sir, and we cannot pay (lit. pour out like water) bribes and presents.

33. We shall hereafter give the (parting) salutationto the education of the white men, sir, we have no desire to do the tasks of a slave.

34. We shall pass our time giving up (our) caste hatreds, sir, (for) to us to live morally is the only caste.

35. In whatever class a caste-less dog may be, there will be a dimunuation on all morality.

36. We shall not care for more or less and bite (one another), sir, (for) the real caste is true humility.

37. It is all the same whether (we) say Rama or Allah, sir, we call (them) so on account of the difference in language.

38. We have had no untouchability from the very beginning, sir. We would destroy (lit. mix with fire) the delusion)which)had come during the intervals.

39. If bathing and meditation are observed, sir, (all) false (sense of) racial inferiority will depart.

40. We shall not consider as (our) representatives, sir, those who have sat in the Legislative Councils.

41. If they go about from house to house begging for votes, sir, we will speak sharp words (to them) and send them awaywithout giving alms.

42. To render service to the dorais (Europeans) lowers (one's) respec tability, sir, is one way to those great men who cannot stand (lit. who are no match for) a famine.

43. That is the difficulty which is ruining the race, sir. There is not the courage to come (out) with righteousness.

44. They are addicted to the eating of food under the protection of the dorais (Europeans), sir, (but their mouth) does not contain the food which comes with freedom.

45. We are accustomed to go about in suits with boots and hats on, sir, and (they) make the face of a monkey when we speak of coarse clothes.

46. Be ashamed to wear the cloth made of foreign yarn, sir. Do you become great on the road with finery on?

47. Can you not give up the fascination for the silk sarees? (You) wear them and come out for a walk in the street.

48. Why do you not consider for a moment at least what indignity there is in (wearing) the clothes of the dorais?

49. Ever since (the people) left schools and took to (lit. fallen into) servile ~~xxx~~ tasks, discourses on patriotism have disappeared (like the dawn).

50. Ever since (the people) left schools and took to (lit. fallen into) servile tasks, discourses on patriotism have disappeared (like the dawn).

50. Even the wise who study at colleges, sir, have to be told to wear the khaddar cloth.

51. The country (kingdom) is rocking on the cotton thread, sir, and if foreign thread is broken (it) will burst.

52. Unable to hold the spinning wheel and draw out four threads, they have delivered the whole kingdom to the charge of the white men.

53. Justice and righteousness have become mixed with water, sir, and it is a sin to lie down under these dorais (Europeans).

54. It is an offence to appear with the khaddar cloth on, sir, and that is the whole reason (lit. origin) for the Malabar murders.

55. It is a mistake, sir, to tell (the people) seriously "Do not

"Do not drink toddy" and it is the true cause for the Dharwar shootings (firing of guns).

56. It is a wrong, sir, even to say "Give up the sinful service" and it alo e accounts for the imprisonment of the Ali Brothers.

57. It is a fault, sir, to ask one to walk according to one's religion. (He) makes out a case for treason.

58. It is only those who have no morality, religion, purity and patriotism that can give pleasure to them night and day.

59. It is wrong, sir, to say "Give up the sinful service". It is said that it was the cause of the Ali Brothers being sent to jail.

60. (He) cannot obstruct, sir, all those who say(it). It seems it lowers (one's) respectability to let them go.

61. (They) apprehend those, sir, whom they cannot see and tolerate. They ceased (to hear) reasons and deeds of virtue.

62. Sixty persons arose in the place of the Ali Brothers without knowing (?) what to do (they) opened their two legs wide.

63. Unable to govern (the country) the skull (of the rulers) is breaking to pieces, sir. It is a shame to tell openly that they are not able (to rule).

64. They (Government) have no mind to accomplish the desire of the people, sir, why do (they) ache if (one) says "The kingdom of Ravanasura" (The demonRavana).

65. That is the essence of jails and acts of shooting, sir. (we do not know) how many prisons and what quantity of powder he has got.

66. Should (we) speak, he sends an army against (us), sir. He makes all the people quake as if they are crows.

67. One who has alove for life and is a fugitive should fear but patriots do not care for them.

68. We will not obstruct even if they kill (us) all, sir. We will die conscious of saying "The whole country is ours".

69. We will not stir or move or make a complaint. Tell him to come with his strength leaving none of it (behind).

70. Non-violence and renuncipation stood up as an obstacle to them. Let them venture to make a war with them.

71. Let them make a cemetray of our earth and rule it and let the glory of the white man shine forth in the four quarters (of the globe).

72. So long as there is life we shall not relinquish our hold. Meanwhile we shall without fail achieve Swaraj.

73. We are not inferior whatever to the Hungarians, the Koreans, the Irish and the Egyptians.

74. We are not women, sir, with hands full of bangles. Even the women are not lower than (inferior to) men.

75. Boys and girls are caught by wisdom such as this. Let all the elders sit as ignorant men.

76. We have not, sir, the bother (lit. howl) of the pleaders going to courts. Those who work for wages will alone suffice for us.

77. The toddy men will not transgress our word, sir, and the merchants will favour (us).

78. Young men give up their education and assist (us) and many (lit. ten persons) will pronounce (their) blessings.

79. We set up the charka and spin yarn both day and night (sir) and shall fill the country with the woven cloths.

80. All the elders in the country will turn (the wheel), sir, and the Gods will shower down flowers.

81. Bad luck (Saturn), sir, has seized Madras and all difficulties find their abode only here.

82. Fear is born in (him) that (we) would rise up in rebellion. He has sharpened all (his) swords and daggers and got them ready.

83. He has kept guards, sir, in the Godavari and the Kistna (districts), sir, and has imported (lit. set down) sepoys into the Guntur (district).

84. He eagerly invites quarrels first, sir, and then sends out bullets saying "A tumult has taken place."

85. He has no regard (lit. live), sir, for the lives of the people; for he wags, seeing the strength of the bullet (he becomes elated).

86. Soon he proclaims, sir, the martial law and punishes (?) without proof and evidence.

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87. While we are fighting for even the Punjab murders Malabar has again now befallen (lit. happened) us.

88. He does not allow the Congress servants to come near him and does not permit (them) to establish peace by mixing (with the people) and preaching (to them).

89. He catches unwise men and plays (with them), sir, and after playing twists their throat (lit. treads out their wind pipe).

90. A demoniacal Government (sircar) has happened (to us), sir, and the way to escape (from it) does not occur to our mind.

91. (He) kindles a heap of dirt (rubbish) before giving blows, sir, and having kindled (the fire) and created a faction he tears with the nails sir.

92. (He) has broken all peace which resembles a fruit, sir, and he has not been able to unite (it) again.

93. There has not been protection, sir, even to the Presidency town. Will not fights arise if without sense factions are thought? of?

94. The saying is true, sir, that the horse is in accord to the rider and Lord Willingdon is shining forth like this.

95. He (Lord Willington) had spoken rotten words about the elderly people (elders) of Bombay, sir, and was not able to take leave (of it) with respectability.

96. (He) gave Malabar to (Mr.) Thomas on contract, sir, and gave Madras to the dorai (Mr.) Thomas on contract, sir, and gave Madras to the dorai (Mr.) Moir on rent.

97. He tried to efface Chirala from the earth, sir, and unable to be a match for Repalle he said salaam (to it),

98. If righteousness and piety had not slpiied down, sir, this could be compared to the kingdom of Bharata (Bharatarajyam).

99. He did not shine forth with fame carrying on properly even (the policy of) divide and rule set up by (Lord) Pentland.

100. Finally he became, sir, favourable (suitable) to all parties and so doing became careless to (about his) honour.

101. Although (he) is not able, he has great valour, and all mistakes he attributes (lit, ties to the heads of) to these people and those.

102. He burns (with anger) when he hears of non-co-operation, sir,

and is frightened like the deer which sees a blaze.

103. When he sees the Northern Circars which are without knives and missiles he dances strangely no one knows why.

23. His heart trembles, sir, to hear of the Godavari and the kistna deltas. He sent the ministers and held a co-operation meeting.

24. On the top (lit. horn) of the kingdom, sir, is (Lord) Reading. It appears he will (go) bind Mahatma Gandhi first.

25. It is said, sir, that Mr. Sapru will join the revolutionaries (lit. those that cause national calamity) and that Mr. Shafi will, it seems, resign (his office) and go straight away.

26. They say that Mr. Sarma will remain as a mediator sir, foretelling (lit. telling the fortunes) that the whole kingdom would fall down.

27. On the day when Mr. Gandhi is actually arrested all men will know the effect (lit. essence) of his words.

28. They do indiscriminate (?) acts and come accompanying the Prince of Wales to gain respect for them.

29. Let the King come, the Queen come, the son come, or the damsel come, it is for this (reason) that we do not like who comes.

30. On (the Prince's) arrival at Bombay we shall observe hartal in t towns and villages to show our displeasure.

31. We have no more fascination (lit. colour) for the King's son than we have for the country and the leaders who manage it.

32. Our mind is stayed on Gandhi, the Ali Brothers, etc. and on Swaraj.

XV. Blessing.

Oh Beautiful Earth! accept this auspicious blessing. Oh thou, the Purifierof all, grant us an assurance of security.

1. Oh! Thou that hast the Universe for thy form! Get rid of the foreign Government. Oh Thou the doer of everything! Give us the purity of Swadeshi.

2. Oh Thou, the Lotus-faced One! Let us not transgress the vow of non-violence. Oh Thou the Giver of Wisdom! Give us the sense of unity to tolerate (others).

3. Bring all the devotees near to victory and quell all the demous soon.

4. Do not let slave mentality (lit. the sense of servility) hide in (in regard to) us. Let the breeze of independence blow on us.

5. Oh Thou the Possessor of Love! Thou has set us right in an uncertain state, do not let any opposition happen (to us).

6. Keep playing as Tranquility,. devoid of danger, in front of the storm of rifles and jails.

7. The clamness which suffers dangers is swaraj! Grant that to the boundless land of the Hindus.

8. It is our principle to worship Thee every minute continuously while it is Your duty to draw us near to You (treating us) as Your devotees.

9. Be prepared putting on the auspicious mark on the forehead, (for) the installation of Swaraj comes off only the day after tomorrow.

Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation and khilafat movement
Proscribed literature :: Urdu books (1922)

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS:

8. G.O.No.500 Dated 14-6-1922, Public: 135 265

"Fughani Muslim "or" Fughani Ali"

The pamphlet begins with the words "In the face of so much creulties and persecutions, how can we cooperate with Government to receive the Prince of Wales; we resent this visit because we are oppressed and are aggrieved by his brother officers here.

Page 1.

In times when many acts of cruelties are being committed in India.

1. Oh, God! Our Ulemas have received very harsh and cruel treatment from the Government and their hands and legs have been put in fetters.
2. Oh, God! Our dead bodies are still lying about in pools of blood and our hearts are still pierced by Dyer's bullets.
3. Oh, God! What have we done to deserve all this, and through what faults of ours have we been imprisoned day and night, and surrounded by the Police on all sides?
4. Oh, God! We have never been relieved of our sorrow and grief, whereas the Kafirs are enjoying themselves in all kinds of pleasures.
5. Oh, God! The bullets of the tyrant Dyer have ruined many of our families in the Punjab, but he has escaped from the responsibilities and is at present living in ease and comfort.

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6. Freedom is our birth-right; how can we bear these harsh and crual treatments thrown on us.

7. The oppression in the Punjab when our women were inveiled and disgraced, will never be forgotten, and will be carried down to posterity.

8. Oh, God! Be kind to us and give us strength to enable us to wipe out these Kafirs.

9. Hindus and Mohamedans should regard one another as brethren.

10. We shall never be loyal to this tyrant Britannia since she is so faithless and ungrateful to us.

11. Oh Poet! We can only be relieved from such sorrow and grief when Dyer is shot through his chest.

Page 3. Oh Police and Military!

1. Gain the honour and follow thy faith in this world, Oh Police and Military! Save thyself from going to hell, oh Police & Military!

2. Handcuff the man (General Dyer) who has committed so many tyrannies in the Punjab, Oh Police and Military!

3. You have fought enough and done whatever harm you can against us. Join the nation and embrace your brothers now.

4. Take off the khaki and burn it. Wear on your head only your national turban, Oh Police and Military!.

5. This Government will cease in a short time and get well pommelled. Meantime you may mock and annoys us. Oh Police & Military!

6. You have arrested Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali and send them, your own brothers, to jail, you dear oppresser of Police & Military.

7. For God's sake stop the acts of cruelty which you have been committing on us for such a long time, Oh Police and Military.

8. Oh Police and Military! You being our brothers, is it advisable for you to kill us by the order of the enemies of our faith?

9. The Commandments of the Koran say that this service is illegal; give it up as soon as possible. Oh Police and Military!

10. Do not salute and serve these Kafirs. This is slavery for ever. Earn Your livelihood by doing some other work.

Page 4. Advice to the Police and Military.

1. We shall read to you the doctrine of the Koran and through us make you interview God.

2. We say to the Police and Military - Remember the day of judgement when you shall have to answer for your acts of cruelty.

3. We say to the Police and the Military - Non-Cooperate immediately with the Kafirs and put an end to the love you have for them. Beware! the angles of justice may throw you down into the bottom of hell.

4. We say to the Police and Military - If you do not repent in time, you shall become the fuel of hell and burn there in for ever.

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5. We say to the Police and Military do not help the Kafirs: purchase paradise with non-cooperation; we guide you to the right path.

6. We say to the Police and the Military - You have committed great tyrannies and you mock and annoy your own dear brethren.

7. we say to the Police and the Military - Give up the Service order that God may bless you. Do not oppress and persecute the creatures of God any more.

8. We say to the Police and the Military - To kill a Moslem by another Moslem is the greatest sin.

9. We say to the Police and the Military - Send in your resignations as soon as possible and do not obey the orders of these Kafirs because every moment they are making you a slave.

10. We say to the Police and the Military - You are ours and we are yours; why then are you oppressing us?

11. We say to the Police and the Military - To bear hatred to your own brothers and love for the Kafirs is not good manners.

12. We say to the Police and the Military - Do not eat the food forbidden by your religion and obtained illegally but do only the business which others are doing.

13. We say to the Police and the Military - Obey the orders of the Holy Koran and the Moulvis. Give up the service of the Kafirs and join the nation.

14. We say to the Police and the Military - Do not lose your faith because life is mortal. Do not hesitate to take our advice.

to take our advice.

15. We say to the Police and the Military - Give up this service under Britannia and do not eat the food obtained illegally. We point out you to the right path.

16. We say to the Police and the Military - though your hearts are strong and will not yield, still you are brethren and therefore we are ready to come to a reconciliation with you.

Page.8. We will destroy the Kingdom of these tyrants.

1. As we are being day and night subjected to oppression, we have made up our minds to become independent.

2. We wonder What a Government is this which has never expressed her gratitude in return for our help and service. We cannot serve her any more; there-fore we have made our determination to become independent.

3. We have cooperated with this Government with the result that we are thrown into sorrows and miseries. Now we are ready to non-co-operate with her and are determined to become independent.

4. We have given all of our gold and property to this Government and have thus been thrown into poverty. Yet we are being troubled by her. Therefore we are determined to become independent.

5. Government had deceived us and shattered the Khilafat into pieces. How can we love these tyrants now? We are determined to become independent.

6. Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali and Ghandi at first were their wellwishers at heart but we see how they have treated them. Therefore we are determined to have

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our independence.

7. See how urgrateful they are. They take money and yet they persecute us. Therefore we are determined that we will become independent.

8. What a shame that the money we earn with our sweat has been looted from us and in addition toxthat that they commit acts of tyranny on us. Therefore we are determined that we will become independent.

9. When our dear ones are being sent to jail by them how can we sit silently in our homes? Our national respect would not allow this, therefore we are determined that we will become independent.

10. How fortunate that Indians are united! We know their (Govt.) underlying motives. They will soon have to run away. We are therefore determined that we will become independent.

11. As these faithless tyrants are ungrateful it is not advisable for us to make friendship with them. Therefore we are determined that we will become independent.

12. Do not fear any human being except God. He is our Master and will keep us as he wishes. Care nothing for our lives but for Khilafat only. Therefore we are determined that we will become independent.

13. We are now awaiting silently to see what more oppression they are going to do on us. We are quite aggrieved by these and have therefore made up our determination to become independent.

(True Copy of translation)
(Sd.) Supdt. Chief.Secy's Office.

Extract translation from a booklet entitled "Hindostan Par Hamla Aur Musalmanon Ke Fraiz" (The invasion on India and the duties of the Muslaims) by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad:--

Chapter 2, Paragraph III, page 16.

"If it is not certain that Victory of the invaders will be advangateous to the Muslim cause but it be certain that their victory will at least weaken a powerful foe of the Islamic object; and the down-fall of the enemies' power is in itself a great success of the Muslim cause- in this case also the Muslims shall have religiously to take their side. For the English Raj in these days is the greatest and only enemy of Islam in the whole world".

Chapter 3, page 18.

"Remember that the Muslim or Hindu who on such occasion is ready to co-operate with the English Raj and fights under the flag of the Government that has been enslaving India for the last two centuries, and that can, within few minutes, fill the Jullianwalabagh with the corpses of Indians - that made Indians creep on their bellies in ~~Amritsar~~ Amitsar - that flogged their naked bodies, and does all which has been done; if such man thinks and calls it patriotism I will say this patriotism from all the inhabitants of this country and may do such that even the shadow of patriotism should not fall o) if in the Indian language this is patriotism,

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may God take away this patriotism from all the inhabitants of this country and may do such that even the shadow of patriotism should not fall on this country. If this national disgrace, political shame, is called patriotism then there is no existence of slavery under the ethereal sky of the world now has any nation undergone slavery up to this day.

True Copy of translation,
(Sd.Superintendent,
Chief Secretary's office.

[illegible] non-cooperation movement [illegible]
Proscribed literature: Telugu Books (1922)

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VIII. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Summary Translation of the important passages in the Telugu Book 'Chirala Perala Gandhi Dasa Natakamu' written by Meduri Ramamurti.

G.O.No.559, dt.4.7.22, Public Department.

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The Book 'Chirala Perala Gandhi Dasa Natakamu' is a Telugu Drama of five acts. When chirala in . . . District was declared a Municipality, disiples of Gandhiji protested against the action of the Government. Meduri Rama Murti, a native of that place being stanch devotee of the Gandhian principles, pours out his opinions in the book. The aim of these men was to establish a castless society highly conscious of and bound by the Truth and Non-violence. The book was written in a simple style and the dramatic form was intended for the easy understanding of the masses.

Page 9: Even the poorest man has to pay taxes in the present Government; but never so was the case in Governments gone by. Alternative for not paying taxes is said to be to go to jail. Oh Respectable Citizens! Hear the words of Duggirala Gopalakrishna! Hereafter wearing Khaddar, refer to pay taxes to the Government and adopt policy of Non-Cooperation.

Page 10: Even though you are abused or beaten or bound down or lastly imprisoned don't fail to plead for non-payment of taxes. Non-violence is an adornment in itself. In olden times Dharmaraja rooted out the Kuru dynasty by following peaceful policy.

Page:12 We don't yield to Government! their punishments have lost all fear for us! Does it rest with these slaves, devoid of justice to punish or protect us? Gandhi is everything for us.

Page 14: The evil intentioned Government is troubling the Indians a good deal. Don't fear such unjust Government and refuse to pay taxes for licenses etc.,

Lord Krishna has taken Gopalakrishna Avatar in order to spare and save us from this slavish life. We are inclined to refuse taxes in view of the enormities perpetrated by Government.

Page 16: They are living by looting us. This is a well-known fact. They are so ungrateful and mean-minded as to forget the good done to them by our forefathers and it does not take long for their ingratitude

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to react upon them.

Page 17: The Government does not in the least benefit by the slaughter of the innocents. Pooh! Pooh! are you not ashamed to continue as a slaves? We never knew what the municipal licenses were This mamon worshipping Government has to-day started issuing licenses and deriving money thereby. What happiness does accrue from them? It is just like the landlady of an inn in demanding money from us and giving food in return.

Page 18! How can we have any faith in a Government which though allowed entry on account of our foolishness, now begins to be ungrateful and shows us scant regard?

Page 19: We will not be afraid of Government and will not submit to it.

Page 20:. What is this Government which demands taxes, when we build houses on our own sites, when we irrigate our lands, with our tank water, when we walk on the road and when we keep cattle? Even though we intended to take shelter in death, still they demand burial ground tax, and it is an illfated day when God created such a set of people to rule over us.

Page 21. These courts and schools are fertile sources of mischief and ruin to the country. The child is put to School and made to pass B.A. He takes to all the western fashions; hair-dressing, clothing, bad habits of smoking, to wine and women and declines to observe Hindu religious rites and formalities. The young man joins Government Service takes bribes, gets detected and dismissed. Then he comes to be newer of wood and drawer of water./(22) We will not pay even a pie to this Government and we do not want the services of this unjust Government.

Page 23: We have determined not to pay taxes, to this Government or any believers in this Government. "In view of the difficulties we are put to, under this Government and also on account of the regard to put an end to this slavish mentality."

Page 24: Thanks for you and for your English education. Enough unto the day the evil thereof. We don't want your licenses. We will not pay and we do not obey your commands.

Page 25: Oh! Do you mean to say that all will be afraid of Government? Nobody cares for this Government which is steeped in worldly affairs, whose attention is not at all directed to the other world and which lives on people's bounty resembles a tiger in a cow's skin.

Page 26: I refuse to pay taxes having got vexed with this Government and its misdeeds.

Can this Government be believed in?-. a Government which set up vakils, who like leeches suck in the life blood of the poor clientele, which puts the rich to enormous difficulties, which beats the ignorant,--which dispises the upper classes, which demolishes the temples and acquits itself without least mercy or charity.

Page 27: It is a settled fact that we do not pay even a single pie to this unjust Government.

Is George V a good man? - he who has no reliance upon the people who imposes very heavy taxes and who troubles us like Yama? (God of Death)

Page 28: Chirala people who are not in the least afraid of Yama now do prove true in remaining as one man in not paying taxes.

Page 29: Countless are the misdeeds of Government. They committed several attrocities in the Punjab. They have robbed us of all money by way of burial tax, grazing fees, substituting paper currency for coin. They have annexed dominions by deceit and treachery. They took advantage of our simplicity and extracted heavy bribe. They have driven out truth and mercy from the land and committed attrocities and attempted to abolish the caste system altogether.

Page 30: With the advent of Gandhi the time has come for all these troubles to vanish. Therefore I don't pay taxes at any cost and I am prepared for the worst.

Page 31: Can we believe such unkind and bad people!- People who have tied our tongues, laid so many traps and thrashed the poor and worried the people after creating confidence?

Page 33: We must fight with the Government which imprisoned patriots; we must rain arrows at them; the whole country will feel glad their departure from here. This is the course to be adopted.

Page 34: Can we tolerate the people who came here for their live-

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lihood -who planned some scheme and then began to harass those who appealed to them for help.

Oh! Can we still tolerate the bad people?-who have no food to eat who are deceitful,-who prattle about their own greatness,-who came to India when the Indians out of ignorance invited them, and who are at last troubling us without sense of shame.

Strange? Strange! How cowardly we are? Even though we have left our whole kingdom to you and are undergoing difficulties like slaves, do you cause more sufferings to our people without any mercy? Know me as Venkateswar, now I will cut you to pieces.

Page 35: Even now permit me to show violence upon the Government. It is not for any other reason that I angrily expressed that I would cut them to pieces. It is for the mere fact that so many of our people are undergoing sufferings in jail. Oh You, the best of Andhras! Have you grown angry with me?

Page 36: Oh Kristna! You have not got even the slightest anger in your mind and have become the best friend of the Mahatma. You resemble Arjuna in point of bravery to drive out bad English people. Do you grow angry with me? Oh! Dearest friend! This is the safest way.

Page 37: For the pittance of Rs.10/- they give me, I have to serve this Government both days and nights, going to each and every man like a cur without any sleep and with my eyes burning. From to-day I quit this service and I don't want my appointment. To-day I shall resign.

Page 38: Pooh, Pooh, who can tolerate the difficulties the Government put us to? Is it not because they are troubling the people for not having paid money? How can we escape from their clutches?

I shall resign my appointment to-day and try to get Swaraj; but keep quiet for some time.

Page 39: The day has dawned for all except the lazy men who sleep on the breasts of the concubines having been intoxicated with toddy and arrack.

Page 42: Born in India, we risk our lives and properties to free ourselves from servitude!

Page 43: Alas! Why is it the God has declared that we should serve

these menials?

Why do you talk discouraged? Why are the Government bad people? What does the Magistrate send for? You are already aware of the fact that the residents of Chirala and Perala appeared in the cutcheri in accordance with the summons, refused to pay license fees, and submit themselves to Government and absued the Government and went to jail. You will go to them and find out whether they are prepared to pay license fees or not. If they refuse to pay license fees tie them to bandies and make them drag! place heavy stones on their heads and put them to all difficulties; in spite of thém if they still be perxsistent tell me then. Soon after receipt of this paper carry out these things. Devoid of endurance and having the staunch desire to amass wealth, the Government are troubling the poor Indians. The Greatest man (Mahatma who is witnessing all these troubles will certainly put an end to this Government with all his courage and skill.

Page 45: You have absued the Government right and left. **** We made them drag the carts, placed heavy stones on their heads they did not yield but escaped praying for god. Their boldness, courage and faithfulness are indescribable.

Page 48: Good people say that Gandhi will come and liberate us from all the troubles we are put to. When will Gandhi come to relieve them from the distress.

Oh Sons of India!

Are you not men? Have you not got courage and strength? Don't lose your respect. Don't your neighbours laugh at you, if you keep quiet like females?.

At the beginning of every Yuga, God will assume some Avatar in order to protect the rightuous from the wicked, and now he has born in the name of Gandhi, why should we be afraid of? He will liberate us just as Rama saved Sita from the clutches of Rakshasas, just as Sri Kristna punished Narakasura, and saved the people, and also saved Droupati when her modesty was about to be outraged, by Duryodhana and others and just as Vistnu saved Gajendra from the Makara.

Page 49: You style youselves as followers of Gandhi, but you could not endure the slightest suffereings you are put to, and you are prepared

to pay taxes without sense of shame. Your intelligence is dead, Are you the true son of India?

Page 50: Why have you born in the continent of India? though you have born why did you pretend to be courageous without behaving like men? Pooh, It would have been better if Brahma had created you as women.

Have you forgotten the Punjab attrocities? and don't you understand the way in which you are treated by the English? don't you know that they have killed the Sanskrit literature by introducing English? don't you know that you are all subjected to slavery at the cost of your professions? don't you see that you are adopting the western features in point of hair-cutting and dressing? are you not ashamed to join them seeing all the above things?

Page 51: You should preach to boycott drinking and introduce spinning wheels in each and every house, you should not go to Government schools, but should attend the National Schools, must convene meetings in each and every village without anger even in dream; you should not be afraid of the English nation and should worship Gandhi as your God. If you do so, Swaraj will be attained very easily.

I shall not be afraid of this ill-minded Government and shall dovout myself to your service.

How you can save us! We believe in you, and are prepared to lose everything and go to jail in order to attain Swaraj.

Page 52: When we see the determination on of these people, it appears that the Government is at fault.

Sir, it is not the skill of the people but it is the skill of Mr. Gopalakrishnayya. How courageous is he?

Page 53: Alas! What is the beauty of this present day world? Even the richest man's son seeks Government service, with an intention to amass wealth. For the pittance of Rs.10/- Iam forced to serve Government all through and be submissive always. It is better to die than to lead a slavish life. This man is paid about Rs.25/- but yet he domineers over me. Let it go; Even though I think of resigning now according to dictates of Gandhi, it is not certain whether we shall

get Swaraj. If Swaraj is ~~m~~ not attained how can we (Myself and family) live?

Page 54: It is really a wonder to see (i) the pleaders extract money from their clients, even though the case is not successful,- the Government servants attending offices foregoing the annual ceremonies of their fathers,- the foolish people who enjoy happiness in serving the English Government, who treat the Indians with contempt- and the people who dirink and enjoy,-and the attrocities of the police, who rudely handle the followers of Gandhi, - When will all these things disappear and when are we to attain swaraj?

Page 56: What can this Government do? We have no fear of Government. What business have I with this bad-faced officer?

Page 57 & 58: Having wilfully left all our property we went to jail, and we are in deep sorrow without finding a way - but we pray to god that our prayer may be heard by Gandhi, and may Gandhi come and root out the pride of the English nation and save us from their clutches!

I have lost my strength and courage, I have been put into prison, there is nobody to protect me O Gandhi Mahatma! come and help me, and when I see you I shall certainly defeat these bad people.

May that spinning wheel which causes anxiety in the minds of the English, came and save me from this trouble.

Page 59: O Gandhi! Why do you not rule us? Why do you not treat us with kindness? Why don't you talk us with kind words, why don't you ridicule the foreigners who put us into prison?

Page 59: I am not afraid of the Police who surround me like dogs and threaten me. I am undergoing all the difficulties, I am put to, without any sorrow. * * *

This is the time, O Mahatma! to save us.

Page 61: We have undgergone all the difficulties we were put to by Government.

You are the great persons who refused to pay taxes, even though you are compelled to take licenses, You are the good persons that entered the jail with nonviolence, You are the true servants of Andhra ~~of~~ who acted to the dictates of Mahatma Gandhi, you are the people who earned fame for Chirala and Perala, You are the true sons of Mother India, You are the true devotees of God.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO and khilafat movement Proscribed literature (1922) 1920-2 IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

From an article published in the communist which was republished in the "Swadharma" of Madas. It was an article on the Malabar train Tragedy.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 566(Confi) dated 6-7-1922, Public Department.

PROVOKING A SECOND MUTINY.

To the fraud of a Free Ireland is being added the fraud of a free Egypt. Meanwhile the Dark Forces of British Imperialism scheme to trick the Indians into revolt so that a Bloody Repression may strengthen their grip upon them.

When the news of the ghastly atrocity the Moplah Train of Death, which suffocated 64 prisoners, came to England, there was some indignation, even in official circles. A minor official of the Foreign Office even said in private conversation, that the responsible man would be hanged if his guilt could be brought home to him. More than that an inquiry was instituted, and it seemed that perhaps the magnitude of the crime had moved even the British officials to shame.

Let us recollect the bare facts of this monstrous outrage Over a hundred Moplah prisoners of war were crammed into a waggon 26 feet by eight divided into three partitions, for a journey of 80 miles. At the end of the journey 56 were found dead. Six more were dying. On this ghastly journey an inquiry has been held and a decision pronounced.

The Traffic Inspector is convicted of negligence and the non-commissioned officer in charge of the train held guilty for not visiting the prisoners often enough? !

Minor officials," utterly without responsibility are changed with this enormous crime. A railwayman and a N.C.O. are supposed to have packed over 100 prisoners in these three tiny compartments and left them to die on their own authority. Honourable gentlemen you are too lenient. Do you not remember that "the perforated metal of the ventilating panels had been

recently painted, thus causing obstruction?" Had you not better search out the painter, and punish him? Perhaps he, after all, is really responsible.

The meaning of this vile verdict is clear enough. The criminal or criminals responsible for the outrage are not to be punished, but permitted to continue their work. A jesting rebuke is offered to two subordinates. The guilty stay in office. The policy of terror is to be continued.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S.S. Khilafat Movement 1922

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Abstract of the G.O.

("Guldasta-i-Razakar" - ~~Rxm~~ Urdu Pamphlet - Proscribed)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.569 (Confidential) dated 6-7-1922 Public Dept.

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The Government of Madras Proscribed the Urdu Pamphlet entitled "Guldasta-i-Razakar" published in Madras by certain Sayed Maim Mohi-ud-din.

Selections from GGS relating to non-cooperation movement etc. Proscribed Literature: English Books (1922) (1920-25)

VII. Extracts from Proscribed English Books and Pamphlet by the Madras Government.

Extract from the BOOk "An appeal to the Muslim"--"Complaint of of a Muslim"--"History of Kupan".
(Date of Proscription ~~August~~ July 19th--Year 1922--G.O.No.599--Mis.--Public.)

Allah-O-Akbar. 786. 157 Allah-O-Akbar.

(God is great) --- (God is great).

O: Appogant human being! who has misled you from your Creator who shows His affection to you (Quran).

An appeal to the Musulamans of Bombay.

Brethren in Islam: Doyou, by purchasing the defiled foreign cloth and assisting the enemies of Islam by raising their financial position and power, still wish to see your brethren in Turkey, ~~alsof-xxxx~~ destroyed?

Sound wisdom and sagacity demand aloofness and severing of all connections with one's enemies. Oh you! who call yourselves human beings, who claim to be gifted with wisdom and intellect, who desire freedom and liberty, who recite the "Kalama" (Confession of faith) of Allah and Mohammed, would you become more degraded than animals? Do you desire in spite of your being animate to become inanimate like plants and fossils? If not, why do you continue connection, friendship and co-operation with those who are the destroyers of your life and property, honour and prestige, kingdom and Government and ethics and morals, and who are the enemies of your religion and faith, your God and His prophet and that too declared and confirmed enemies?

Are you not aware of the injunctions of the Congress and the League and of the Fatwa issued by the Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-Ul-Ulema? Do you not hear the unanimous voice of the whole of Asia? Do not the wailings of the Punjab oppressed arouse you from your sleep of indulgence? Does not the lowering of the prestige of your holy places, induce you to turn to your duty?

Does not the ruin of the Turkish Government afflict and grieve you? Does not the ruin of the Khilafat, pain and vex you? Does not the heart-rending condition of the khalif of the Prophet - Defender of Islam - have any effect on you?

Do you not remember the word of God? (Do not Co-operate with My and your enemies "Read Sura-o-Mumtahans, Part 28, paragraph 2). If you do, can you continue co-operation with that Government which induced you to serve it by making pledges and promises, and when it a purpose was served, forgot them all; which forcibly suppressed your demands for the fulfilment of those promises and pledges, and whenever you reminded it (the Government) it commenced repression and tyranny by imprisoning and interning. Alas! inspite of your being Muslims, is your heart devoid of feelings for Islam? Do you consider the commandments of God and His prophet as mere fables, that after being repeatedly brought to your notice, you are still inclined towards luxury, pleasure and sleep of indulgence?

Are you not ashamed to side with unrighteousness? Has your respect for Islam totally disappeared? Have you no regard for the divine commands? Brethren in faith! all political associations have declared the non-cooperation movement as the only remedy; the descenders of the prophet and the Ulema have given "a Fatwa" of its being obligatory. Why do you then, inspite of your being Musulmans, connive at it? Can you not in these days, discharge your obligations, by not purchasing foreign cloth? If you cannot discard the foreign cloth from your person, what else can you then do, inspite of your being a Musulman? Do you not know that on account of this foreign cloth, 90 Crores of Rupees are drained out of India to Europe every year? With this very money, loans are advanced to the Greek Wolves and those tyrannical Greak slaughter your Turkish brothers, sisters and their children. Is not this a dishonour and shame for us - Muslims. If, after knowing all this, we by purchasing foreign cloth, help the enemies of Islam, then it shows the weakness of our faith. Fie then on our claim of humanity.

Under these circumstances, we appeal to the Muslims of Bombay, that they will show their courage during this month of Ramzan by giving up foreign cloth and by purchasing Khaddar and will thus reduce the monetary power of the enemies. When the financial power of our enemies is reduced, they will of their own accord, hand over

to us our deposit viz., the Jazirat-ul-Arab. If you cannot do this much, remember that God's work will never cease, nor can the Khilafat be destroyed. But you will be punished for disobedience. God does not show the way to success to the disobedient. May He guide us to the right path. Amen.

Printed at the Asghar Printing Press, Pydhonie. Gowli Mohalla, Bombay. 3.

Sd. Fateh Mohd. Abdul Latif.

/Ture Copies/

(Sd.)

for Superintendent.

1. Shikwa-e-Muslim (Complaint of a Muslim).

This pamphlet contains six poems. It is published by Hakim Saiyad Muhammad Isa, Secretary, Volunteers of Peace Mohalla Kot Tala, Saharanpur, United Provinces. It is printed at the Farooqia Press, Saharanpur, and is priced at one anna.

The First poem in it treats of the achievements accomplished by Kemal Pasha ever the Greeks. The poet thinks that all this is through the Divine Grace and declares that the very fact that Kamal Pasha is reorganising the armies of the Amir of Kabul, shows that something wonderful is going to happen.

The translation of important couplets in the 2nd poem written by one "Noor" and of which the burden is "O military people" give up your services", is as follows:-

"O soldiers, the commandment of God, and the prophet and the Fatwa given by Shariat in that you should give up your services;

"Why do you, eat the salt of the tyrants? why do you drink the blood of the Muslims? On the day of judgment your faces will be blackened (i.e. you will be put to shame).

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"Why do you kill your own brethren by serving the Christians? The Angels are cursing you.

"The days of this Government are numbered; you should therefore give up obedience to them.

"What answer will you give to God if you go on serving the infidels On the day of judgment the prophet will not intercede for you:

"The Maulvis are going to jails; they are suffering great hardships. The tyrannical Government is oppressing them;

"The glory of Islam has lessened. The Sultan's army has been cut into pieces. The Kingdom or Religion has been looted.

"You have invaded Medina and fired shots at the • • • • (i.e. the Prophet's tomb); with what face will you appear before God?

"You set fire to the curtain of the Kanba; you shed blood in the holy House of God. The whole dignity of the House of God has been looted;

"You have killed the Tuks: you have deprived the Sultan of his throne and you have snatched be crown of the Khilafat.

"You have removed the veils of women. You have asparated children from their parents, and still you did not feel ashamed;

"Give up the slavery of Britain; you have eaten enough of the unlawful morsels. (Now) you should cleanse your stomach of all that is filthy:

"After death you will feel sorry; than you will be terrified by (the presence of) snakes and scorpiens. The grave will break your ribs into peices."

The translation of important couplets in the 3rd poem of which 'Help us O God' is the refrain, is as follows:-

"The innocent have been murdered by the rustic Greeks.

"They have committed various atrocities in Smyrna; they have shed the blood of orphans for nothing. Why did not the oppressors meet with death?

"By fraud they matched this whole country; they have robbed us of Mecca and Medina. All this misfortune is the work of the Christians.

"They throw a bomb on the tomb of the Prophet; may God blacken

their faces in this world. They fired shots in the holy House of God.

"They have arrested ~~hautht~~ Shaukat Ali and (his brother) Mohammed Ali without any fault.

"Look at the mischief of these tyrants; they call truth sedition.

"Why do Musalmans lose their faith by serving these infidels?

"O God, our prayer to Thee is that all the leaders who are in jail, may soon be released"--

The translation of important couplets in the 4th poem by one Hilal, of which 'spin the wheel' is the chorus, is as follows:-

"If you want that the Khilafat should last, and if you want that you should get Swaraj, then you should spin the wheel.

"If you take care of your spindle, then there will remain no Manchester; you should understand your own strength.

"If you stick to this, then you will destroy the pride of the enemies, and the Government will be brought to its knees.

"The whole world is looking to you: save India's honour".

The translation of important complets in the 5th poem by <u>Noor,</u> of which "Those who are willing to go to jail will go to jail" is the chorus, is as follows:-

"We shall now give our life for the sake of the Khilafat; we shall break laws; When do we fear death?

"We shall recite such strong poems as may rouse peoples' passions. Let the police stop and hold us.

"Now we have made up our minds that we should either go to jail or to the Andamans. We shall not be threatened any longer.

"O Noor, such days are coming when those who are receiving kicks, will themselves kick the Government".

The translation of important couplets in the 6th poem by Adeeb is as follows:-

"They are frightening us by showing us their machine guns; they are intoxicated to such an extent that they have forgotten God's wrath.

"The Indians are very clever, and they are now showing their skill. They have given up foreign goods and have taken to Swadeshi. They are now spining their own wheel.

Ghazi Enver and Kamal are showing their skill.

If God wills, then some day they will come down to India from Arabia.

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"O Prophet, the enemy's harshness has increased and now pray help us. They are sending us to jails under section 44 (?)

"Go and speak to Jesus Christ to tie up his asses who, graxing on the farms of India, are braying with tails lifted up.

"The misfortune is that they are using our daggers against our necks. See, the black, alas, are firing their machine guns on the black.

"We have already attained swaraj, we do not care for the 5th December, it is true that those monkeys are frightening us with false threats (lit with the threats of jackals).

"If you want to save yourselves from sin then you should give up the service of the Police Department. You should not enter the army as well. This is the Fatwa of the Ulemas.

III. Fiadi-a-Qaum (A devotee of the community).

This pamphlet, which is also entitled 'Darbar-e-Khilafat' consists of two poems and is published by Shaik hahi Bakhah and Muhammad Abdur Rahman, Book-sellers, Uhampur, District Fijmaur, United Provinces, and it is printed at the Qayyuni Press, Dhampur, it is priced at 9 pies.

The translation of important couplets in the 1st poem, having 'Muslims, go and enliet yourselves as volunteers" as the chorus, is as follows:-

"Save the religion of Ahmad (i.e. the Prophet of Islam) and it matters little if you have to sacrifice your life for it. Show your courage and fill the jails.

"Come forward ~~after wearing~~ your uniforms and swordbelts:

Muslims, go and enlist yourselves as volunteers.

"Make loud and emphatic cries of Allah-e-Akbar (and pray that) the earth may be rent asunder and devour the enemy of the Khilafat.

"O ye who have devoted your lives to the country, let us go to attend the meeting, without any feat: make India free. The hand-cuffs will fall down after being cut off.

Many have made up their minds to die for the sake of religion; many are prepared to give up their life for the country.

"Gandhi points out to you that this is a satanic Government; never be deceived, its days are numbered (lit. their day is about to dawn)

"You should unite in such a way that you should become one; try to free Hind and the Holy places from the grip of the enemy. You should wake up: you have already slept for a long time.

He is a traitor who remains behind to make monkeys dance, he is the brave one who goes to jail.

"O Jamil, that man bought the whole world who sacrificed himself to save the honour of the Khilafat".

The translation of important couplets in the end poem is as follows:-

"The mother-country must be freed from slavery: the clothes of slavery must be burnt.

"If you are a Muslim then you must remember that you will have to get your head cut off for the Khilafat.

"Either the Khilafat problem will be solved now or you will have to inhabit the streets of the martyrs.

"They have taken possession of the holy places; you will have to make them taste the flavour thereof.

"They have made homeless thousands Turks; you must himiliate this greatest tyrant.

"Let somebody go to them and say:- "You will have to go to (back) to your own country".

"Consider us to be the fathers of Germans; now that we have the <u>Charkha</u> you will have to howl.

What have these thought us 32 crores to be? (They should remember that) when once we get angry, then you will have to go to London.

Selections from SAS relating to non-cooperation movement Proscribed literature :: English Books (1922)

VIII. Extracts from Proscribed English Books and Pamphlet by the Madras Government.

Extract from the book "~~The method of the Indian People~~". " Indian People".
(Date of Proscription August 16th--Year 1922--G.O.No.667-Mis. Public)

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Indian People.

I say, do not believe the selfish English. I say, do not fear the strongest combination. I say, do not be misled by any interested Indian. I request you to rise as soon as one another opportunity presents itself. You have already lost one opportunity during this war and if you loose one again you shall suffer bitterly for it.

Do not try to fix date of the general rising it shall be the date when any one district or town or any one single regiment declares her independence. Try to take the lead. If you are not the first try to be the second or the third. Follow in any case.

Able leaders in each centre shall imprison the local English authorities and shall carry on administration in the name of National Congress. There should be no civil war. All must obey him whoever moves first and takes possesssion of the Government. Have patience with evil people, they shall all disappear in course of time. Don't fear and don't get impatient in any case. Birth of a child is painful.

Subedar majors and jamadars should at once become generals and colonels and all other Indian officers should be promoted accordingly. The whole Indian army however should obey the Congress leaders and able educated men should remain by Indian generals and colonels to advise them.

IX. Extracts from Proscribed English Books and Pamphlet by the Madras Government.

Extract from the BOOK "Manifesto to the All India Congress Committee" (Date of Proscription August 28th--1922--G.O.No.691--Mis.-Public.)

MANIFESTO

to the

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

161

Fellow Countrymen,

x x x

Revolution must develop along revolutionary channels, and the movement whose leadership you desire to assume, is essentially revolutionary. To dissipate and denounce mass action for the sake of the interests of the respectable middle-class is the worst crime that can be committed against the freedom of the Indian people.

x x x x

The capitalist imperialism of Britain is based on the exploitation of the toiling masses, the upper and middle classes being put to some handicap incidentally.

x x x x

The cardinal principle of our Political Programme is a National Democratic government free from any foreign protection or supervision.

In the Action Programme is to be formulated the methods by which all the revolutionary forces are to be mobilised in the struggle for realising the establishment of an Indian Republic. This mobilization cannot be effected unless the immediate needs of the most revolutionary element, that is the working-class, are taken into consideration as demonstrated above, complete National Independence of the country can be realized only by the efforts of the working class and peasants. Therefore, to develop the revolutionary tendencies of these is the burden of our Programme of our party.

The ignorant workers and peasants do not understand political theories any more than they care understand abstractions. They want to satisfy their --- intensity and brutality of exploitation. . . economic condition has become unbearable . . . to revolt. Therefore the best means of leading them on the revolutionary path is to help them in realising their immediate needs; to help them organize; to

make themunderstand their class-interest; to encourage them in every revolutionary way, and to warn them against the conspiracy of the "labour leaders" who are the henchmen of the employing class or the agents of the Government.

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X X X X

Our immediate task is to prevent this eventually;to frustrate this sinister design of the government, leagued with ~~we must assume the leadership of the working-class, the employing~~ the employing/and landowning-class We must assume the leadership of the working-class, and we will not be able to drive the kept labour leaders out of the field unless we are actuated by revolutionary ideals, - unless we stand for the interest of the toiling masses. The Congress should at once launch a programme advocating the fight for higher wages for the workers, an eight hour day, better housing, recognition of Unions, right of strike, equal pay for equal work, abolition of landlordism, reduction of rents and taxes, strong measures for the abolition of usury and such other measures as will correspond to the immediate necessities of the masses. Vigorous agitation should be carried on among the workers and peasants to show that their condition cannot be changed palliatives, to expose the sinister motive of the reformist labour leader, liberal employer and benevolent landlord. These demands should be enforced by mass-action, - strike and demonstrations, peasant revolts. Leaving the cloth-shop and liquor-stall alone, every Congress volunteer should take active part in these mass-demonstrations.

This is the only means of creating a situation for the inauguration of Civil Disobedience. Not by denying them, betraying them, but by making their cause . . . will the Congress assueme the leadership of the mass realising this organic revolutionary relation with the revolutionary social class, the Congress will be on the path and will march from from one victory to another till the ultimate goal it attained.

Hoist the banner of Swaraj and rally the people under it with the slogan of Living Wages to the Worker and Land to the Toiler.

Zurich, July 15, 1922.

Manabendra Nath Roy
Surendra Kar.

Selections from ... relating to ... Proscribed literature :: Telugu books (1922) (1920-1923)

3211;

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBEDE TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

"SWARAJYA RATHAM"

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Summary from a copy of a Telugu book entitled "Swarjya Ratham" by Somaraju Ramanuja Rao of Bhadrachalam.

This is a drama in five acts: 167

Act 1 Tilaku Rayabaramu (Embassy of Tilak);
Act 2 Pratijma Shakkat Aliyam (vow of Shaukat Ali);
Act 3 Panchala Parabhavam (The Punjab Outrage);
Act 4 Ramarajya Sthapana (The Establishment of Ramarajya);
Act 5 Rathayatra (The Car Procession);

The characters in the play----

Indra, Gopalakrishna Gokhale, Bala Gandadhar Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Shamkat Ali, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Aravinda Ghose, Srinivasa Sastri, A citizen of Amristsar, Kalipurusha &c.

Mother India, Queen Victoria, Panchali (Punjab), Anne Besant, and Ratnadevi.

The drama describes the political events which led up to the launching of the Non-Co-operation movement.

G.O. No. 695, dated 28-8-1922, Public Department:

"Swarajya Radhamu (The Swaraj Car)."

Page 1.

Act 1.

The Embassy of Tilak.

Mother India to God Indra: I have not come to you now so that you may comfort and praise me, who devoid of a protector am in a wretched plight. Consider the means by which you can save me, who, being subjected to terrible afflictions have but life left in me.

Indra: Why are you in want O, Mother India! When there is this great soul Tilak, who has endured untold hardships and can valourously fight single-handed; when there is the peerless Mahatma Gandhi who repeats the sacred spell of self-swary; when there is Shoukat Ali who can annihilate all the worlds; when there are the heroes of very superior stength in Anga, Vanga (Bengal) and the Andhra provinces, who shine forth in the world like fiery thunderbolts, and when your sons are men of great intellect?

Page 2.

Tilak to Queen Victoria; So long as sages like Vyasa and Valmiki, excellent kings like Nala and Harischandra, incarnations like Rama and Krishna, and truly noble poets

like Kalidasa prevailed, there was no dependence; and Mother India was free and joyful. But through the greatness of your sons, having this day become a slave, she, our mother, has shed tears. The profession of a slave, has now been our portion. Life has been in the palm of our hands. O, venerable lady! Our former grandeur dirtied, we have been in anaguish.

Lovely Mother India produced gems; but men of sinful minds beheld, grew envious, removed all the heaps of wealth and being cruel, have cast earth in our mouth.

Mother India to Queen Victoria: It is only the sight of you, that has given new consciousness to my mind, which has been agitated for a long time under the weight of grief. Gokhale and Tilak, my sons, the conquerors of the three worlds are only here. X X You alone should now protect righteousness.

Page 3.

Tilak to Mother India: You say there is still no hurry at all. When it is a crime for your sons who are heroes without help, even to bear the sword; when independence has become a matter of (lit. news in) dream, and your sons have been grieving as destitutes; when without food to eat and clothing to put on, and without the nourishment of the mother, they are stretching out their hands to the stepmothers; when the sons of India, whose treasure is supreme penance, have become united with low-fellows; when prosperity has left the land (India) which has gems in its womb; and when tranquility has become the sky-blossom (meaning nothing) and departed; you say, 'why are you in haste? (If not now), madam, when (is freedom to be got)? Is it after all is ruined?

Mother India: Whatever grandeur has left us, faith and devotion cannot abandon us.

Bage 4.

Tilak: Is not all going to ruin if we disregard this?

Queen Victoria: But that day Narada came here from the Earth and in a friendly manner defided me thus: "Look,

in return for the beneficence of the Indians, the English have favoured them with the Rowlatt Act". You know, how much I grieved at this. Even when Mother India has now entreated me, I could not do anything, and am shedding tears (she grieves).

Page 5. 165

Mother India: Mother! Be comforted! What can you do for my ill-luck? It is not auspicious for your sons when you, an old lady, feel grieved.

Queen Victoria: (With wrath) Auspicious for them still? Welfare for them yet? Are there excellent destinies for the son who has ruined himself without listening to the word of the mother? I regarded India as my life. May the vile government be speedily ruined which, in a twinkle, has rendered such a peaceful system of administration (Government) into one accompanied by a frightful national calamity!

Indra to Tilak: Are not God-like men such as yourself, Gandhi, and Gokhale, the seeming forms of the supreme Person, who from age to age takes birth in a supernatural manner to establish righteousness.

Queen Victoria to Tilak: I protected India with abounding kindness. The occasion is gone. The Fates havechanged. (The wheel of time).

Page 6.

has turned topsy-turvey. Oh, Indians! Perform your duty for the accomplishment of the object.

Tilak: We have been waiting so long only to hear those words from your lips. Is it now? Even the musquito, born in the Indian empire, will hereafter obtain valour. Through the natural condition of things, Swaraj will come to India within a year. Mother India to Tilak. What connection will you cause to exist with the Empire of the English? Do not overlook the fact that the Kaiser, who had brought confusion into the whole world by the most terrible laws, was defeated by the European forces.

India: A good plan occurs to my mind, and I am of opinion,

that it is ordained by fate, and is the wish to God. You should leave off (all) connections with the rulers, and live without violence. You must largely follow our eternal duties in the matter of dress, language, and business; we must establish universities throughout the country for national education. You should see to the village panchayats, for, in them, there is justice without baseness, do not stretch out your hands to foreign countries, you must make all things yourselves. It is only this intention (ideal) of non-copperation, that can give you eternal swaraj.

Page 7.

Mother India: O, Indra! Good! You have given us proper instruction. O, Sons! Even now take an oath that, byadopting this vow of non-co-operation, you will give me independence and Swaraj.

(Gokhale and Tilak swear before the mother that they will not fail to adopt this policy of non-co-operation.)

Tilak: I shall carry away the mother to the Earth, and shall also take on another birth. (a voice from behind the screen). 'Victory of Mahatma Gandhi! Victory to Satyagraha (truthful indignation)! (Behind the screen again) It is the command of Bruhaspati, the priest of the Gods, that, according to the dictum of Mahatma Gandhi, all the fourteen worlds should perform this day the vow of satyagraha.

Page 8.

Indra to Mother India: Do not grieve. According to your horoscope, for three hundred years three hundred evils have passed away with to-day! The great goddess Lakshmi, of ancient and inestimable wealth will wish for you. The splendour of your fame will appear to fill the earth, the sky, and the ends of the globe. In accordance with the commands of the preceptor, come let us all undertake the vow of Satyagraha, and go to see the wonders of the world. (All sing except Mother India) Salutation to the

mother, who has the confused and terrible sound of the threats of the thirty crores of men; and who has the sharp swords held by twice thirty crores of shoulders. How can people say, that you are without might. Salutation to you who have abundant strength, and can ward off the enemy host.

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Act 2.

The vow of Shaukat Ali.

(Shaukat Ali enters with indignation.)

Shaukat Ali: Will not the demons die who spoke fraudulent words, begged; plunged us into the war; kindled hopes, I know not what, and, when the joy of universal conquest was attained, have undertaken to shatter our creed to Islam; while the Mussalmans in the country rejoice.

They had entered India on the pretext of trade and, in the end, assumed sovereignty over us. We have been devoted and have helped them; but, if we think of the return for our loyalty, we will become mad! The dust raised by the feet of the soldiers of the armies, seen going to the theatre of war, has not yet got out of the way! The gold which the poor Indians gave as war loans, has not yet been received by them! The rivers of blood of the Indians on the battlefield have not yet dried up! The roar of the guns, which went out of the scene of fighting, has not yet left the ears! The boons of Mr. Lloyd George, the embodiment of truth, have not yet departed from our minds! Hurrah! So soon, the Khilafat question and the sinful Rowlatt Act a have happened to us! We have experienced, and experienced again, the words of comfort., the time serving conduct, and the devotion to self-advantage of the Government, and are disgusted. Is there still the hope that beneficence will be had from them? For some days, they said, that the Indians have not got the

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ability to rule the earth. For some days, they said, "It is only your clamour; the whole body of the Indians have no

such desire at all". For some days, they said, "If your reforms are first successful we shall thereupon see". For some days, they said, "Look! A committee will be arranged for you, and we shall stop your howlings! " They have pissed the time with false words. We were quiet till the war was over. As we are not aware of any beneficence even now, we have lost our wealth, life, and honour! O, Hindu and Mussalman bretheren! Do not be subject to the demon of doubt any more, and be not slaves caught in (the meshes of) subservience, Recognise the feeling of universal brotherhood and soon quench the fire of our disgrace. Can the Hindus forget till their death for the Khilafat question of the Turks? Werethey not born as men in good families? Do they lack firmness? Are they not the ancient Hindus? How long yet can we calmly bear? When from a long time the grief of disgrace, the misery of poverty, and the unhappiness of dependence, fill every pore in the skin of the body, swell, burstforth, and are now flowing out, how longer can we endure. Though the country is subjected to the Goddess of poverty, unable to raise my voice, I remained still! Though the words spoken by the minister have not been kept., (lit. have become bundles in water) I held my tongue! However much wealth was proceeding to England, I overlook it, and showed loyalty! However much they dishonoured us, I assumed tranquility, thinking that they were the Government! Violence became great, by degrees! The whole govermment became a demoniabal rule! Our religionn also has to-day become ruined (lit. mingled with the earth). I can no longer bear; I cannot endure any more; I cannot endure! If you all stand in fear of the English, singlehanded, I shall gain swarajh This alone is myvow. Listen! While the worshipful rows of the Hindu and the good and virtuous Turkish soldiers flourished, bearing on the one shoulder the excedingly great work of the salvation of the Indian Raj, and carrying on the other the pleasing

Khilafat question, the famours Shaukat Aki will cause pain to all the enemies for the attainment of Swaraj!

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Many times have I heard from my birth of the note of tranquility! This day the time has come for the end to appraoch, and in order to show my vow(lit. wager) I have therefore thought of undertaking to wear the sword hereafter. Although the end of the world may come I will not find another way but war! O, sword! Frightful to (thy) enemies! Do not fear impediments. Now alone, you will partake of a nice feast!

Shaukat Ali to Gandhi: How do you ask us to cool down the fire of disgrace which has happened to us, if not by wrath? While the ruin of the Khilafat and, more than that, the words of the untrue Lloyd George, blazingly burn from head to foot, is it possible for me to have tranquility in the mind? The disgrace done cannot be borne! The

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valour (of Shaukat Ali) is celebrated on the earth, for the (its) destruction of the foe! How can Shoukat Ali have peace?

Gandhi: O, Shaukat Ali! You have earned the name 'Shoukat Ali', for you have the unequalled strength to reduce to dust one hundred men at a blow.

Shaukat Ali: Mahatma! we have been ruined from the very beginning by 'peace' such as this! Do you still talk of tranquility? Gandhi: Son! How do you, O Shaukat Ali! Say that the way of peace which bestows on us the gain of victory; which is solely impossible of being overcome; which is a terror to the chief of warriors to whom 'brute-force' is the principal thing; and which is a step of the staircase of Swaraj-- How do you say that such peace is very ruinous? Behold! When the greatest of the demons entertained spite, and had prahlada trodden down by elephants, surpassing the mountains,; when they forcibly bound him, hand and foot, and plunged him many

times in the seas; when they had beat him with weighty clubs, till he fell, and scorched him in the blazing fire; when they caused him to be dragged, and shoved down to the earth from exceedingly lofty mountains; he did not cherish any indignation in his mind, but obtained complete victory, through the path of goodness! It is the Satyagraha of such a Pzahlada alone, that this day shows the way to the Empire of India.

Shaukat Ali to Gandhi: I shall perform the war-sacrifice in which by the firmness of my heroice vow taken with Mother India as a witness I am the great rutvic (the priest appointed to perform particular rites at a sacrifice); the very fire of our arrogance, is the flame; the peerless swaraj itself, is the fruit; you alone, are the Upadrashta (the preceptor); and the wickedness of the enemy, is the clarified butter!

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Gandhi: Is not brute force worth a straw before soul force? Of what use is the shaking of the sword without soul-force; that is victory which is got by peace. Did Hiranyakasipu and Kamsa, of old, attain prosperity by cruelty? What did Napolean enjoy, who hzad wanted to rule the whole (the world) empire with cruelty? What profit did the Kaiser derive in the recent war, by taking only to cruelty? Did Ireland which wanted Swaraj without adopting peace (Peaceful methods) gain any benefit? A Government can never secure a victory by cruelly coming upon a people! If we can walk, in the path of peace, we alone will have much triumph.

Indians will acquire a spotless position, impossible of being reached, a position, in which the most cruel men who have assumed a violent disposition are the demons; the Hindus who practise the vow of Satyagraha are Prahladas; the embodiment of the empire to be born in nine months in Narasimha; the gain to India of the attainment of an Empire is Prahlada's sense of liberation! Those who know and wander away from the virtuous path are sure to reach (suffer) horrible ruin! All Indians must now take the vow of Satyagraha; now alone, must

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we teach to our bretherm the true nature of non-co-operation Come, let me go.

O, Officers! Who for the stomach measuring a span, have taken to slavery and become beggars! O, Lawyers! Who in the name of justice, kill the poor people with injustice! O, Students! Who having daily acquired a servile education have become useless! O, Cowards! Who are transported with joy a t the European (English) civilisation and give over all the wealth to the aliens! I am your brother. I bow to you several times. Give up the connections with the Government; leave off the illusory civilisation; and you will have the admirable swaraj!

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Act 3.

I The Disgrace of the Lady of the Punjab.

A citizen of Amritsar: Alas! God! The Friend of the poor! What distresses did you ordain for the goddess of the Punjab Raj! The lamentations of women and children have this day become Rama mantras (magic spell) to the ears; habitable places corwded with people have in a single hour become heaps of crepses; the extensive region of Jallianwallah became a sea of blood; Amritsar, which was a lake of nectar, became a great plague to allthe Indians; the vile wretch, Dyer, became haughty with authority! What a misfortune (lit. sin) befell the Indians! Peace has come to an end, for the lovely land of the Punjab; ours has been famine, while the enemies have the time (a good time of it) O, Lord ! O, Lord! What a horrible thing is taking place this side! Alas! Alas! Why this side alone? In all directions there only appear the acts of violence of the English, the frightful sounds of guns (lit. slayers of hundreds) and the agitation of the Indians! O, Retinue of the demon! Dyer! O, wretches! who thrash with whips and beat the children, by dryigg them

down to a triangle! O, Human brutes! Who undertake to disgrace the modesty of women! O, most cruel men.! Who without humanity, shoot bullets on the people! O, sinful men'. Who have insulted the Chief and honourable men among the Indians! O, Villains! Who, on the strength of the order of the sinner Dyer, have committed criminal acts ! You know ! Our minds are boiling violently! May you soon see the reward!

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AlasI. Alas! What a destruction is this! While all the citizens are in a crowd, how the hard-hearted English soldiers close the ways, and fire guns upon our innocent Indians, and are bringing about the death of a multitude! Alas! O, wha t a pity! I cannot see this! I cannot see this!

Citizen: Someone is perhaps coming this way, saying 'stop! stop! Ah'.Alas! I have died! I have died! He must be either the demon of Dyer! Or the demon of O'Dwyer!

(The person coming happens to be a woman named Ratna Devi).

Citizen: Is she the Mother India, who, while the aliens have misappropriated her fortune and tormented her, is drawing near (her) sons? Or is she the beautiful Goddess of the Empire of the Punjab, whose mind is burning with disgrace?

Ratna Devi: This Goddess of Nature, who is witnessing with her own eyes the most violent acts of the Englishmen of today, must be of help to me'. O, Damsels of the quarters of the world! Who alarmed, cry on hearing but a traceof the sounds of many guns! O, Goddess of the Earth! Who quake with terror on seeing with your own eyes the death of (thy) sons! O, God of the sun! Who having considered our disgrace, are going with a grudge towards the western island! O, God of the Sky! Who are concealed in the clouds for fear that the blood of the people may fall on you! I came in the midst of the many death-causing guns, and the thousand corpses of the Indians, I came in search of my husband! May you go after showing him to me who am miserable! Ah! Alas! O, God!.

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The most dreadful and shuddering thunder of these guns; the lamentations of women and children, which will melt even hard rocks, the dead-bodies, which strike the foot step by step are breaking my heart! Ah'. what a horrible deed is perpetrated in this direction! The soldiers that resemble the demons have tied up to a triangle a seven-year old youth, who has no knowledge of the world, and are tormenting him with the strokes of their dreadful whips '. Ah! Indian boy! Have you been sacrificing your life to the demon of Dyer in this day's attrocities (lit. eternals)? If you had remained alive, what a hero, and a man of intellect, would you have become! Alas! Alas'. They poured water into the mouth of the boy who had fainted, and when he had regained his sense (consciousness), they are again tormenting him! Where is such violence? (looking in another direction) What an unnatural thing this is! Alas! They are making all these delicate people crawl, like serpants, on their stomachs and when they say they cannot walk, they are tormenting them the more! O, God! Where art Thou? When are you going to protect them? If it is true that you have incarnated ten times, to punish the wicked and protect the good, (seeking for another direction) Verily! How the wicked soldiers are tormenting great men, to get the latter do salutations to them, by giving up the consideratiion whehther they are respectable or not! (Looking at another direction) Alas! Alas! A most horrible thing has occured here! O, Leaders of the country! Are your eyes closed? O, Unwise men who have delivered the sacred land to the demon of dependence! Consider how you can protect your country to-day. Where have you all gone, when a low scoundrel of a foreigner, wishing to disgrace the gem of a very chaste and virtuous wife, your sister ~~and~~ of pure conduct, is untying the cloth round her hips? Alas! O, Sister! (Id) did not see your disgrace.

I will now come and protect you, 'stop, stop' (seeing)
Well done', O, Chaste and valourous woman! Excellent'.
You have done an act which will endure till the end of time.
Have you too got a hidden sword like me? Alas! Why have
you become so foolish? Are the lives of the Hindu women
greater than (their) honour? O, Sinner! O, Vile creature!
Who have undertaken to outrage the modesty of my sister!
She has now adorned Heaven! What more can you do? Ah!
All these people are coming towards me'. I must now
protect my modesty (Pulling out the sword) O, Ye British
men! O, Ye! Tigers in human form! Come ! Ye will imitate the
locusts falling into a great fire! Come ! Come!

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Ratnadevi: Oh! Guns are fired here without intermission!
How can I enter this most horrible field! Would the wicked
have by now murdered the lord of my life (husband)?
Ah! Alas! Sinners! Will the lives be in your bodiees this
day? Have you considered that your wicked deeds are
unrestrained? Violence! Violence! Alas! The great
violence of a demoniacal Government! A mighty sin!
Citizen: Ah! Aha! All the soldiers are running away at
the dreadful sight of this Ratnadevi, who is ecstatic
with the madness of wrath! Alas! Mother India! What an
evil plight has, this day, befallen you! While there
are the blooming young girls who, when the heart burns,
assume the form of the Goddess Kali, and cuase fright; while
there are the noble poets who, without taking the sword, slay
(lit. break to pieces) the heroic enemies with the stroke of
their pen; while there are the wise statesmen, who can
most easily (lit. with the head downwards) conduct the
affairs of the Government; while there are virtuous hermits,
who, by the mere knitting of their eye-brows, will slay the
enemies, and reduce them to ashes while the chief men, who
are the leaders of the country, are alive; while the
Congress of India exists; and white the manliness
of India has yet life, O, Mother India! How many

distresses have befallen you! 175 345

Mother India to Panchali (a Punjab Lady): The Dussasena (of the Mahabharata notoriety) of Dyer, who has disgraced you will never have prosperity! Did not the demon Ravana, having carried away by force the great and famous Goddess Sita, go to ruin? Was not Simhabala (Kichaka is meant, perhaps) who had intended to capture and ravish a lady of the Punjab (Droupadi) killed? Was not the savage, who had proposed to join Damayanti in the awful forest, turned

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into ashes? Were not the Kouravas, who had pulled out the clothes worn by Droupadi, the most respectable lady defeated (in battle)? The severe fore which comes out of the woman's mind, burning with wrath will consume the forest of a race! The disgrace which thousands of the Punjab ladies have this day suffered will ruin the enemies?

A lady of the Punjab: O, Mother! What hope have I yet? Who looks at my disgrace this day, and pities me? Who will avenge me? In former times, Dhramaraja, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva, who had beheld the disgrace of a lady of the Punjab (Droupadi), fought the Mahabharata War, and pleased her by doing the Veni Samhara (the destruction of the plainted tresses of the enemy women). But who is there for me? Mother India: O, foolish woman! Have you none? Lajapat Rai, the conqueror of a crore of enemies, is the r ighteous Dharmaraja; the learned Shaukat Ali, the possessor of perpetually valorous arms, which have triumphed over the three worlds, is Bhima; Chittaranjana Das, who has the good fame of having renounced self-interest, is Arjuna; Muhammad Ali, and Satyapal, the heroic Indians, are Nakula and Shadeva! It is certain, that once more the Mahabharata War (the great war of India) will assuredly take place, this day, by peaceful means. In the war, the Dussasana of Dyer will indeed suffer disgrace, and be punished! The God Hari, that saved the clothes, when Dussasena dishonoured the virtuous lady of the Punjab Droupadi, is the merciful Gandhi, who will

guard you with the Chakra (the disc of Vishnu) of the Spinning wheel! These sounds are from the kettle-drum, and are indicative of the triumph of my auspicious will.

The deep sounds of the dreadful kettle-drum of Gandhi are heard with firmness and splendour, like the roar of the seven seas, and they make the hearts of the Hindus of bad conduct shudder with terror, who, unable to bear the mention of the words 'Swaraj is Heaven', have become unfortunate, and speak ill of the Mahatma Gandhi of good conduct.

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Shaukat Ali: O, English soldiers! Tell me where your lord Dyer is now exercising his own authority! Dyer, the wretch, who has disgraced the modesty of the lady of the Punjab, who is death to the destitute people of the Punjab; who is the hard-hearted man, that has seen the stream of blood; who is the friend of important men like (Lord) Chelmsford; who is the crooked-fellow, that has been obedient to the demon of O'Dwyer; who is the administrator of the Rowlatt Act; who is the fiend, that has abandoned humanity; and who is the lord of these scoundrels of soldiers! I will extinguish the severe fire of disgrace, so that all the people may rejoice. Gandhi: It is not the wretched conduct such as this, that should be the means to realise our object. Violence is the cuase of great ruin. Shaukat Ali: O, Mahatma (Gandhi)! How can those who were nourished, in their infancy, with the milk of slavery, have kind thoughts? How can those who govern with violence, assume a peaceful conduct? How can they who do not know a trace of the glory of a chaste wife, honour our ladies? How can the demons who feast their eyes with blood have a tender mind? Will these white faced men go with mere pacificatory words, who have no proper means, to eat and clothe themselves, and who think of living by misappropriating (lit. digesting) the empire of others, and are firmly implanted?

Shaukat Ali: Ah, me! Although I have been able to create confusion in the world of foes, with the fierce might of my arms, and assuage the (my) feelings of enmity, am I to shut my mouth, and keep quiet like a weak person, like

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a coward who has abandoned his sense of honour and regard, and like a traitor who has scorned patriotism? O,Fate! Have you written on our foreheads, when villains have made our mother India bominable, and cuased her to wail bitterly, and while they have disgraced and outraged the modesty of the Goddess of the Punjab Raj, that with these eyes, these useless eyes we should see without being able to do anything, and wail with extreme distress. Mahatma ! What do you say to this? While fifty lakhs of starving people perish every year crying to God Rama for food; while a sum of sixty crores of rupees is going to England under the pretext of cloth; while one hundred and ninety two crores of rupees are collected in the shape of taxes; while the streams of running-blood are dazzling our eyes; while Indians, without any independence at all, are being looked upon as brutes; when shall we assume manliness? When shall we have happiness?

Gandhi: Son! Haste not! The germ of the non-violence (lit. genteleness) of the Hindus is becoming a mighty tree, and ere long, will bear fruit. Wrath is not the proper thing. If Dyer should soon reap the fruit of the violence of enforcing the martial law, against those who knew no guilt and had no protection; the fruit of the crime of driving away from the town the guiltless kitchelew and Satya Pal; the fruit of the intermina bly cruel act of firing cannon-balls upon the people assembled in a meeting; and the furit of the sin of tormenting lads and women who wailed bitterly! A meeting of the Congress should be convened with skill; and the rulers themselves will expiate his cruelty. Let us go, preach the path of non-violence, and tame the rudeness of the people of the punjab.

Shaukat Ali: It appears to be the intention of the Government to arrest you even on the way.

Gandhi: Why afraid of the prison, the birth place of God Krishna, who protects the righteous, and breaks to pieces the wicked?

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Act 4.

The Establishment of the Rule of Rama(The ideal State).

Kali (The goddess of the Present Iron Age) enters.

Kali: Ah! Aha'. How strange! How soon my Kali Raja's authority has set? A change in creeds, a change in Governments, a change in the conduct of the people; a change in their languages; a change in their fashions and a change in their way of travelling! The marvellous Krita Age is come even now, Alas! Why doubt? This is the holy saying of the ancients. God is born from age to age to protect all the meek, to destroy the wicked deeds which prevail in the world, and to establish the righteousness of the Rishes. Even before the years, writ by Tate, were completed this unexpected Krita Age has come, in the middle, and has destroyed (lit. mixed in the middle of the river) my arbitrary rule! On account of the excellent nature of non-violence, and through Mahatma Gandhi of sinless form, I can no more have in this birth, the association of the pot-bellied(?) in whatever direction I see; my most intimate friends wish very much for drink, have become (my) enemies, and do not approach me; the acts of (my) violence, by which I had been maintaining myself (lit. filling my stomach), through courts have come to an end; my daring has abated a daring by which, reamining in the mind of the official, I had killed the people with bribes; the taverns which had perpetually been my halls of audience have vanished. I had put down the wicked-

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minded who had been puffed up with pride, that the world was under the control of God, established the great 'Kali' Empire, and freely and pleasantly walked about in all places with lust, wratch, covetousness,

infatuation, arrogance and malice as my servants. Which God had performed all the deeds (lit. sports) that I could do? I caused holy men to be abused; and doubled the wealth of sinners; I extirpated those who were walking in righteousness, and made the devotees of unrighteousness ascend the palanquin; I tormented the servants of the Almighty, and gave to the slaves of drink dominion over the Gods; I filled the land from the Himalayas to Cape Commorin with a series of western customs, which are full of sin and changed the Hindus into 'Dorias' (Europeans); I entered (the society of) the English, and cuased mutal fights to take place among the Hindus. I gave India over to independence, and made the Indians slaves! Alas When I think of my grandeur, I feel grieved myself! I nourished enemities, so as to prevent the Hindus and the Muhammadans from becoming friends; I had delivered the soveriegnty of India to foregn kings, and exulted saying that it was good; I created the much-desired coffee, excelling liquor, for the men of modern civilisation; I mercilessly kicked away with my left leg, the rigteousness which was with one foot; I brought the Indians to a lot in which they have surpassed the white men in their dress, and language; I crowned the Goddess of famine, who is my queen (as the sovereign of) the country! Such a mighty Empire has to be dismembered to-day. I had remained with some courage that, some day and somewhere, God would appear as the eleventh incarnation, and I was not able to realise, till now, that this very man, the weak Mohan Das Karachand Gandhi, was born of aportion of the deity'. All my retinue have been driven out by God Dhrama, and Historian of truth, purity, mercy, righteousness, and good conduct! Where is the room for me in this country? I must go somewhere. (Behind the secreeen) O, Lord of my life! O, great king Kali! We are dying on account of the wicked attendants of the God of righteousness. Save us! Protect us!.

Kali: AhI What a time of affliction has befallen us. There goes the Goddess of drink feeling miserable that none has given her a proper place to remain; there is the mother of the power-of attorney who is terror-stricken having received beatings from Chittaranjan Das; there is the Goddess of the court going with aversion, somewhere, becuase the people have got angry with her; there is the destitute goddess of famine who cannot say anything against those who are devoted to virtuous duty; the fortune of unrestrained (arbitrary) authority having been destroyed from this day! Alas! These, my queens, are going in grief to serve other men! I have no refuge! Where shall I roam? Let me now go, making the western country my support. O, Goddess of righteousness! I have placed the continent of India in your charge! You, at least, govern here, as long as the Sun, the Moon, and the stars endure. O, Goddess of truth! May you live long! Do not leave hereafter the land of India. O, Justice! May you be prosperous! Do not abandon hereafter the progeny of the pure Aryans. O, good Conduct! May you be fortunate! May you thrive! Do not quit the protection of the Indians in future. O Tender mercy! Be ever victorious! Do not yet separate yourself from the Indian Nation. O, Righteousness!. Gandhi is your prop. O, Lust! O, wrath! Move and come away. O, Mother India! Separated from you after many days, I now proceed ! Salutation to you! Mother India: Through the plentiful grace of Mahatma Gandhi, the rule of Rama (an ideal state(has again been established in India! At the commencement of the Gandhi-epoch the distress caused by comets is gone; everywhere the multitudes of Brahmins and cows are blessed; the fear of an excess of rain on the earth has been allayed, and there are three full showers a month; the wanderings of thieves and adulterers have ceased, and the world is radiant with a bumper harvest; righteousness walks on (its) four legs; the great and miserable plight of theKali Age

is past; the sinful act of torturing animals has ended; the (flow of) wealth of the dody-shops has stopped; the rule of Rama has become the protion of all the people.

O! The whole nature presents a feast to the eyes! At the commencement of the era of Gandhi, the people will defeat Manchester, by the lustre of the great 'Sudarsanachakra (the disc of God Vishnu) of the spinning wheel; by the indigenous cloths they do away with the sin of wearing the dirty foreign cloth; they resign the profession which carries with it extreme obsequiousness, and put their hands to the holy plough; they consider as sinful and quickly renounce, the drinking of liquor and the torture of animals. They establish good educational institutions to make the graceful arts appear once again; and they adopt the ancient dress and language. (Behind the screen) Victory to Mother India! Victory to Swaraj!

Mother India: It may be the sound of victory of the Swaraj-car I shall proceed along with the lady of the Punjab to witness the journey (lit. pilgrimage) of this divine car! (Looking at the sky) Hello! How all the dwellers in the sky have come, seated in their celestial chariots, to see the journey of this car! Just as, in the past, Raghu

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Rama came in the company of Sita to the town in the Pushpaka Car, So Mahatma Gandhi has now come, along with the Goddess of the Indian Empire, in the car of Swaraj.

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Act 5.

The Pilgrimage (journey) of the Car.

Mother India: While the banner, resplendent with the mark of the spinning wheel is dancing in the sky; while the heap of gold containing the accumulated amount of a crore of rupees, is brilliantly glittering in the middle; while Gandhi is going as the charioteer, with a smiling beautiful lotus-like faces; while the strength born of meditation on the practice of the vow of Satyagraha,

serves as the rope of the Car, and strikes terror; while without any distinction between the Hindus and the Turks, the people have become one, and are dragging (the car) by the rope; Lo, there has come, in its greatness, the Swaraj Car, with the tinkling of the bells, and the mighty sounds of victory, made by the people!

O, Indians! An opportunity such as this will no more come to you, though you may make a tremendous penance. Hear! Can there be a greater fortune on the earth for even a crore of births, than to pull the Car of the India Raj, with the thirty crores of her people, under the direction (lit. priesthood at a sacrifice) of the reverend Mahatma Gandhi; while the Lokamanya (Tilak) is blessing it with victory from Heaven; while all the Gods seated in their cars are showering amaramth flowers; while the fourteen worlds are celebrating it, with the cheerful songs of the glory of the Indians; and while the hearts of those people who, being most traterous to the Mother, undertake to join the side of the enemy, shudder again.

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May the great and boundless sin (or crime) of doing service to the foreigners, leave the people of the land of India this day! May the Indians desirous of their own duty, live as brethren in future, be the delightful lords of Swaraj, and take the vow of mighty action.

O, Goddess of the Punjab Raj! Hear! Those that are on either side of the car with the Muslim flags in their armpits are the Ali Brothers, who with their faces resembling those of lions or the five faced Siva (the God of destruction) are a terror to the enemy, and inspire pride in the spectators; and are with the whiskers twiested high asif they are the seat of very brilliant valour. Look within, for the people who are pulling the Swaraj Car of righteous and venerable form, by holding the very mighty rope of Satyagraha (lit. truthful indignation); and who are standing on either side, and

are incessantly carying out 'Victory!, Victory!; and who having taken upon their shoulders the vow of action, have undertaken to drag the Car of the realm.

Page 28.

A Lady of the Punjab to Mother India: Mother! Is he Hari (God Vishnu) who, in the dense resplendence of a crore of Suns joyfully sits upon the poles of the Car, and holds (in his hand) a weapon like the 'Sudarsana' (the disc of Vishnu) which protects the Gods.

Mother India: O, Lady of the Punjab! Were you not able to recognise that divine form? He is the Mahatma Gandhi who is radiant with a name celebrated for abundant mercy; whose reputation pervades the Earth as the one praised by the people of the whole world for his character, sweet as nectar; who has protected many a fallen man by his ~~xxxxxx~~ own spiritual force; who has taken the vow of Satyagraha, which is able to subdue all foes; who has not been conquered by the whole host of European enemies in the central region of South Africa; who is adored by the good; who is revered; and who longs for the attainment of a glorious state. He is Mahatma Gandhi, the very embodiment of sinlessness. Have you not heard that God Vishnu Himself was born like this? The spinning wheel in his hand which will secure Swaraj is equal to Sudarsana (the disc of God Vishnu with which he blotted out his enemies).

Indians: Victory to Mother India! Victory to Swaraj'. Victory to Mahatma Gandhi! Victory to the Hindus and the Musalmans!

Gandhi: O, Great people! I pray you to stop the car for a minute .

Indians: Mahatma! Where to stop? Will the Car which has once proceeded stop? In whose power is it to stop the march of the mighty car of this realm which roams without any effort?

Gandhi: Brethren! There is a white faced old lady and an

Indian, standing across the way. Let them go. Stop the car here, which accomplishes in a moment the desires of the hearts of all the Indians.

Page 29.

O, Revered Sreenivasa (The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri)! O, Venerable Mr. Besant! We have indeed been dragging with pride (lit. arrogance) the Car of the realm, desisting from the use of the bow and the arrow, and adopting the simple principle of non-violence! Why have you intended to perish between the wheels, which are very awful, with excellent righteousness and mighty strength (lit. valour)? I salute you a hundred times Mercifully give way!

Shaukat Ali: Mr. Srinivasa Sastry was born of the venerable Indian race. Her served the whitemen for a long time, and was deluded by seeing their ostentation. He meditated treachery, in his mind, even to his mother.

Page 30.

Annie Besant: Respected Srinivasa Sastry! All the endeavours wex made to obstruct Swaraj have become fruitless! There is the Swaraj Car! Theyare pushing it on with the force of determination of the Mahatma. What is the means now?

Srinivasa Sastri: the only method for us is, to be down across this road and not stir.

Annie Besant: Will it not, perhaps, proceed over us.

Srinivasa Sastri: Such a thing will never happen. It is improbable, that, under the charioteership of Mahatma Gandhi of non-violent conduct, it will fall upon us.

Annie Besant: But I am frightened at seeing Shaukat Ali.

Srinivasa Sastri: This is indeed the last great attempt.

Gandhi: O, Revered ones! Why do you not yet go out of the way? It is getting late for us. The auspicious moment for the establishment of Swaraj is passing away. Get up!

Shaukat Ali: O, Venerable Sirs! Thisx is not the England of the white men, but it is the most holy India; here there

is not the war of the meetings of councils; we have the village panchayats; feelings of animosity, external and internal, are not to be found; the way of truth is ever our refuge; there is not to be English in this country hereafter, the pure Sanskrit alone is our education; you will not find here Mr. Montagu, your friend, or Mr. Lloyd George, the embodiment of truth; respect for you is to be found in England; go there.

O, Mahatma! Command me only now!

Tearing away the connection with the very great sinners who, at a time when (we were) in the grip (lit. power) of blindness, did some injustice, and thought of cutting down the bond (of friendship) this disciple of Gandhi, who has attained his desire in his endeavour for Swaraj, will render this way of the Rashtra (realm) free from thorns!

Gandhi: O, Srinivasa ! O, Mrs. Besant! You do not listen to our words. I am afraid that, by the soul force of these thirty-three crores of Indians, the wheels of this Car will roll without effort! Is it possible for the weak Mohan Das (Gandhi) to oppose the soulforce of these thirty-three crores of Gandhis of ripe strength, and control the car? O, Mother! It exceeds my strength.

Page 31.

(No sooner did Mr. Srinivasa Sastry and Mrs. Besant move out of the way, making the rope of the Car their support than its wheels rolled along.)

Shaukat Ali: Ah! At last, even to them this very rope which has the semblance of goodness, has become the support.

Muhammad Ali: May God grant that, by the mere touch of this rope, their lives may be perfected.

Gandhi: O, Young lads! Who abandoned the schools when asked to become adepts in national education! O, Prosperous men! Who resigned your employments when told to give up slavery! Cry once 'Victory, Victory' ! O, Great people! Salute the devotee, Arabinda, the most excellent prince of sages.

Indians: Victory! Victory to the sage Arabinda!

Arabinda Ghosh: O, Lad! Gandhi! The greatness of your resolve is highly praiseworthy; you have been able to obtain the very great swaraj without rendering my silent prayers ineffectual; and have filled all the quarters of the earth with the glory of the Indians, and the splendour of their prosperity.

Gandhi: All this is due to the might of your divine blessing. May you command that what remains to be done, may be accomplished in an auspicious manner!

Arabinda Ghosh: Through the graciousness of Mother India everything will be fulfilled. The days of dependance for the Goddess of the India-Raj are gone!

Page 32.

Mother India to Gandhi: You are born to establish righteousness an and have made the religion of the sains stand; you have driven our the demon of dependence from the divine country of India; you have shone forth in the way of goodness and truth, as an embodiment of the knowledge, which frightnes all the wicked; you have maintained the pure honour of the risihis; O, Gandhi Mahatma! Who has the soul which longs for a divine state!

Gandhi: O, Sole mother of the World! Through the spreading of your unsulled grace, all the Indians will be freed from (lit. come out of) the demon of dependence. Many stupid Indians, who have not yet given up their contact with the West, and who have no faith in their own strength, are agiatated as to what may be the future result! Teach all of them once about the future result.

Mother India: The Indian Empire will hereafter be pleasantly ruled by the Indians; the demon of modern civilisation will not come to touch India, so long as it remains on the earth; government by the king of a foreign country will not remain here (India) for love or money; The land of India will flourish with crops and dairy produce wealth and enjoyment famine will not be seen in our country; the Ghost of

of utterly impure customs will vanish from the earth; Indians and Turks will unite together and appear here after as milk and water.

Arabinda Ghosh: Amen!

Sd.B. Somasundara Rao, 15.8.22.
Acting Telugu Translator to Government.

TRUE COPY.

5. G.O.No.708 (Mis) (Public) dt.2-9-1922.

"Indian Muslims and Swaraj", by M. Amjad Ibrahim.

The pamphlet purports to be a religious "fatwa" to educate Muslims on the present situation and define their religious ~~on the present~~ duties and responsibilities. It is brightly seditious. It lures law abiding Muslims from their loyalty to the Raj and directly incites them to "jaihind". Several of its chapters deal with the various stages of "Jaihind". with violent and inflamatory quotations from the 'Qeran' and the 'sayings of the prophet'. It also advocates the killing of the enemies of the Khilafat, and the possession of arms for the purpose of 'Jaihind'. It preaches the boycott of Poritish rule, and suggests that Muslims, should owe their allegiance only to a Muslim king, and if there is no Muslim king they should go on 'Hirjat'. It exhorts Muslims to drive non-Muslims from Jaziratul Arab (the island of Arabia). An attempt has also been made in the book to show that Swaraj is a necessity for Muslims.

* * *

Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat movement (1920-1926)
Proscribed literature: Tamil books (1923)

6. G.O.No.250 (Mis) (Public) dt.27-3-1923. 189 323.

"Joseph Mazzini"

This contains the life of Joseph Mazzini with a few comments by the author here and there. Mazzini seems to be a revolutionary and the author has taken full advantage of the revolutionary spirit by exposing it vehemenly to the readers, who may also copy it.

The following are the translations of what I have marked:-

Page 6. Having found the establishment of swaraj by open dealings was quite impossible the Italian patriots started secret societies called "Carbonary".

Page 8. By the inducement of these carbonary societies (secret societies) the people began to rebel against the kingdom.

Page 10. Author's note:- Our Tamil people must understand how Mazzini brought forward Italy and how he suffered for that. We must also know how Mazzini and his followers established their swaraj after much trouble.

Page 16. Mazzini used to bring secretly the proscribed books and give his friends.

Page 27: To get rid of a foreign rule, it is quite necessary we must fight secretly. Secret fight does not mean the regular battle by regiments, but it means fighting from hidden places against the enemy. In English they call it "Guerilla" warfare. The Western people and the statesmen have accepted that it is the duty of a subjucated race to carry on such guerilla warfare to get out of the clutches of a foreign Government.

Page 38. Mazzini started a newspaper for the labourers. He made the labourers understand the history of Italy and told them that the labourers are the chief sufferers by a foreign rule, which will never care for the education, sanitation and well-being of the labourers.

Page 14. Author's note.- Even now the civilised Government is doing such things (by things he means interception of letters). English Government is opening by intercepting the letters

the letters of some patriots now, as they were doing to Mazzini in those days. When it is penalised that a man opening another man's letter is an offence, how can the authorities, who made such laws, do so? Is it because they do not feel that it is an offence, or because they think that they have a right to do so?

Page 62. Secret societies were formed to root out the Austrian kingdom. Within 4 years of the reign of Charter III about 1,000 men were imprisoned and 300 were hanged. Those who did not like this were waiting for an opportunity to kill him. One day when the King went out for a walk, a man stabbed him in a secret place and he died after some days.

Page 69. Mazzini arranged for riotings in the Southern Province of Italy. Mazzini did not approve riotings and secret murders to be committed always.

Page 70. Mazzini used to say that it is our duty to murder secretly those who rule other people in an unjust and atrocious manner.

Page 73. Those who expect the help of a foreign rule will never live peacefully.

Page 92. Secret Police, Customs officers and Police Officers are the stumbling blocks against the creation of independent spirit and broadmindedness among the public. The books and newspapers which speak of independence are being proscribed. Colleges and Universities are teaching us slavery. Those who are broadminded are sent to jail. For such people the only remedy is the complete change of Government.

Page 93. The national spirit will grow in proportion to the number of people who go into jail in every year.

Page 97. When a class of people do not get their independence it is justifiable they should have their secret societies.

* * *

Proscribed literature :: Telugu books (1922). Movement (1920-

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS. 322.

"PALNADU GRANTHALAYA SAMGHAMUVARI PADUGU-SWARAJYA GITA PANJAMU"

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Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled "Palnadu Granthalaya Samghamuvari Padugu-Swarajya Gita Punjamu by Tirunagari Venkatanarasu Suri, printed at the Chandrika Press, Guntur.

G.O. No. 750, dated 18-9-1922, Public Department:

The Pamphlet strongly advocates the non-cooperation movement of Mr. Gandhi in all the details. It places before the reader many gross mis-statements about the objects and the intentions of Government, and the contents are such as will bring the Government into hatred and contempt with the people.

English Translation by the Traslator in Telugu to the Government of Madras:

A REQUEST.

O ! Revered Sirs ! Four hundred years ago, Srinadhá, the Emperor of Poets, had proclaimed to the Andhra world through Balachandra (the tender moon) in Palnati Veeracharitra (the history of the heroes of Palnad) that "four fame or infamy, the whole burden lies on boys". The poets, the leaders, and the orators of to-day also say, that the fo tune of a country rests only on its boys. The youths of to-day are the men of to-morrow. Without men, there is neither country nor kingdom, nor race, nor God. The order of the reflections of such a god is the command of the Supreme Being. To transgress the law of God is .. treachery to the Supreme-Being. To push forward the order of men is Swaraj. In the country where the law of men is dishonoured, in that country God is disgraced. None will bear this self-disgrace. It is an error on the part of some people to state, that the desire for Swaraj is born only to-day. Srinadha was a lover of freedom. That is why he has stated in the Charitra (history) that it is not possible even for an infant(?) to tell about the afflictions of those who are subservient to others . X X X On behalf of the society I offer a thousand thanks to Mr. Tirunagari Venkatasuri, who has secured for the society the fortune of giving these songs to the Andhra country, and to Mr Putsa Lakshminarasimham

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who boycotted the Government school immediately after the Swaraj movement had originated and is now toiling with the vow of spreading the movement, for redering pecuniary help.

-Goli Mallikarjuna Sastri,
President, Palnad Gradhalaya Sangha
(The Palnad Library Society.)

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Swarajya Gita Panjamu (A collection of Swaraj Songs)

Page 3.

Burden: Serve the Mother country.

Song 1: Serve the mother country, O, people! Push aside and remove the servitude of India, without suffering ruin by falling into the deceitful bonds made by the dwellers of a foreign land who do not hesitate in the least to suck up the wealth of the country.

Song.2: Wear, O, people! Only the cloths of the (this) Bountry. Do not touch the foreign cloths. Abhor the garb and the language which are ruinous to the country, kill the spirit of fascination, and fix in your mind the teaching of Gandhi.

Song 3: Do not covet enjoyments. Undertake to do renunciation for the attainment of Swaraj. Recognise (your duty) to carry on the method well discovered by our Indians at the Nagpur Congress.

Song 4: Do not entertain doubts. Behold ! Swaraj will soon come to hand. You had better all joink the non-violant non-cooperation movement first, and with devotion, say Vande Mataram.

Page 4:

Song 5: We have no honour at all. Why are you immersed in the fascination of the west, and yet do not perceive it? It is said that the people who live in Canada, and in continents such as Africa, think

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in theirminds, that we are slaves, and laugh at us.

Song 6: Do not look before and behind. Desire to live as the sons of the holy mother-India. If, in an exceedingly cruel manner, the Government arrest you in large numbers and put you in prison, do not get vexed in mind.

Page 5.

Song 9: Do not get idle. Why do you not consider the system of national education? Establish the national schools in every place in sufficient numbers, and educate the boys and the girls well.

Song10: You should desist from all disputes. Do not henceforth proceed to Government courts saying that you are fit for them. Settle your quarrels as told by proper elders, and largely acquire unanimity, while the world praises (you).

Song11: Undertake the vow of non-violence on the earth. Come to hear the teaching of Tirunagari Venkatanarasasuri Give up honourably all intoxicating things such as arrack, and with a fixed mind, give your wealth to the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Song12: O. Son of India,! Did you forget all the villanies of Dyer of a wicked mind?

Song 2: Did you forget them, to go so soon to the new Legislative Councils which are not worth even a pie?

Page 6

Song 3: Did you forget them, even before the horrible Rowlatt Act which forcibly takes away the honour of the Indians, has not extinguished?

Song 4: Did you forget the manner in which, through a freak the vile wretch Dyer had killed the people in the Jallianwalah Bag?

Song 5: Did you forget the disgrace of seizing the several virtuous women of the Punjab, and getting (their) clothes untied?

Song 6: Did you forget the way in which the people of the Punjab were made to cralion the earth, the authorities not being able to determine the truth.

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Song 7: Did you forget, all the ostentations of Dyer and O'Dwyer, who are without kindness, and are devoid of morality?

Song 8: Did you forget (these) so soon, in order, for instance, to study in Government schools which teach us servitude?

Song 9: Did you forget (these) so soon, to continue the profession of lawyer in the courts which are 'equal to a deceiptive snare?'

Song10: Did you forget, the grand teachings of Mahatma Gandhi who has effected friendship between the Hindus and Islam?

Song11: Did you forget the magic spell of the non-violent non-co-operation held in pure veneration by great men?

Page 7.

Song12: Did you forget (these), without placing faith in the teaching of Venkatanarasasuri, which is memorable and melodious to the ears of the good?

Song 1: I shall let you know, all the afflictions cuased by that vile wretch Dyer, hear!.

Song 2: I shall let you know, all the particulars of how (he) vilely cuased the clothes of the lovely women of the Punjab being removed;

Song 3: I shall let you know, all the acts of rashness by which (he) made the youths reading at school walk in the sun; hear!

Song 4: I shall let you know, the manner in which (he) caused the people who knew no transgressions to go crawling over the ground on their stomachs; hear!

Song 5: I shall let you know, the way in which (he) unduly shot the people with gunds while they had assembled in a garden and were holding a meeting (there); hear!

Song 6: I shall let you know the entire manner in which he had seized young boys, tied them to the triangle and thrashed them to death while they screamed out; hear!

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Song 7: I shall let you know the way in which (he) had abandoned morality, and made the people draw lines on the ground with their noses without thinking it to be base; hear!

Page 8.

Song 1: O, Indians! Join the non-cooperation movement. Keep in mind the behst of Mahatma Gandhi.

Song 2: O, Indians! If you have a longing to do away with slavery, you must undertake service to the country with persistence.

Song 4: O Indians! Is there no pity in your mind at seeing the grief of the mother?

Song 5: O, Indians! Pour out even (your) lives for the sake of righteousness. Make unity stand, with a pure mind.

Song 6: O, Indians ! Do not go to Government courts for justice.

Page 10.

Song 7: It is indeed impossible for you (the upper classes) to attain Swaraj, while you blindly forsake us (the Adi Andhras).

Song 1: Awake! O, Indian (you) who are devoid of independence. Awake! O, lover of liberty! Awake!

Page 11.

Song 2: Awake'. O, Indians! The sun of G andhi has set out and come to drive away the drakness of servitude existing in the land of India, therefore, awake, O, dear one, awake!

Song 3: Awake O, Indian!. To rise up and toil, listening to the words of sensible men who ask you to adopt the beautiful Swadeshi vow.

~~Song 3~~ Awake, O, Indian! To rise up and toil, listening to the words of sensible men who ask you to adopt the beutiful Swadeshi vow.

Song 5: Awake, O, Indian!.To attain the power, to always shun hereafter articles of wheatever kind made in other countries.

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Song 6: Awake, O, Indian! So undertake to carry out the resolution passed at the All-India (Congress) meeting at Calcutta.

Song 7: Awake, O, Indian! So that the horrible tortures which took place uncommonly in the Punjab may not happen again in India.

Song 8: Awake, O, Indian! To make the people walk in the truth of non-co-operation which is the means for the speedy attainment of Swaraj.

Page 12.

Song 9: Awake O, Indian! To ceaselessly prevent our sons from going to the schools conducted by the Government and push them out so as to make them (the schools) fall.

Song10: Awake, O, Indian!.To set up merrily the national schools in every place, and cause the gift of education to become widely known.

Song11: Awake, O, Indian! To pour out your wealth and body without delay, and strive to secure honour for the Indians.

Page 13.

Song 1: O, Lord of Heaven ! The destroyer of vile wretches! Why are you not so kind as to take to the shore the Indians who are plunged in the ocean of servitude? Why are you not kind when all the Hindus and the Muhammadans wishing to obtain swaraj, have gone into prison?

Song2 :Why are you not kind, O, God! When the white- people without considering in the mind the welfare of the black men in the east even this much, forcibly take all the wealth by gently making the people drink the most loathsome toddy, arrack, and ganja, and by causing agitation in them?

Song 3: Why are you not kind, O, God!. When the people drive the herds of cattle into the forest for grass the guards and the watchers, through wickedness, obstruct and drive them (the cattle) into the

pound, and like cross-walls (?) pull out money and torture the cattle?

Song 4: Why are You not Kind, O, God! When the white men of a former time, having taken a vow (lit. tied a bracelet) to ruin all the industries which had existed in India, cut the thumbs of the men who had spun thin and proper thread with the hand?

Page 14.

Song 5: Why are You not kind, O, God ! Whilte the Doris (The English) are extenseively taking along gold silver, and valuable articles only to England.

Song 1: O, mind! Search for the way by which we can get rid of the bondage of the mother, good fortune will thereby draw near you.

Song 2: O, mind! Knowing the Government to be devoid of righteousness, and joining the Dorias (the English) have you become one of a wicked mind?

Song 3: O, mind! There being no non-co-operation, there is no good fortune for you.

Song 4: O, Mind! Having happened to fall into the inordinate lust for the west, do you not perceive Mahatma Gandhi?

Song 1: O, mind! Search incessantly for the way to your country's eminence in accordance with the command of the Mahatma.

Page 15.

Song 2: O, mind! If you abandon the foreign clothes and wear the coarse national cloths, slavation will come to hand.

Song 4: O, mind! Search for the way to the country's eminence, without getting entangled in the net of these cheats of white-men who have disgraced the young women of the Punjab.

Song 5: O, mind! Search for the way to your country's eminence, in order to carry on (the work) for the accomplishment of Swaraj in India within six months.

Page 17.

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Page 17.

Song 1: May good fortune be to Mahatma Gandhi! Swaraj will very conveniently come to us!

Song 2: May blessedness come upon mother India! The country's leaders will well rejoice.

Song 3: Those who serve the mother will become great men. The fascination for the white race will all go away.

Song 4: May the people obtain great and substantial independence to drive out dependence!

Song 5: May the Almighty God release from bonds those who fell into prisions, and rule!

Page 18.

Song 6: May famines never occur! Good fortune to the holy Kasturi Bai, the queen of Gandhi, to Ali Begum, the mother of Ali (Brothers) and to the virtuous women of the Punjab, who have been disgranced.

Page 19.

Song11: Good fortune to those who having undertaken a vow to remove the thraldom of India's sons, have entered the dungeons.

Sd.B.Somasunddra Rao,11.9.22.,
Acting Telugu Translator to Government.

TRUE COPY

Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat movement (1920-1922)
Proscribed literature: Urdu books (1922)

C

EXTRAXE FROM PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

12. G.O.No.783, Dated 28th September, 1922, Public: 393

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"Murqa-i-Ijitabaat, Ahmedabad." and
"Nai Bedad".

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Muraqa-i-Ijyabaat Ahmedabad, i.e. the collections of proceedings of the All-India National Congress. All India Muslim League, All-India Khilafat Conference, etc. held at Ahmedabad in 1921. The book is compiled by Alwari Zahid Naumani and probably published by him too. It is printed at the Swaraj Printing Works, Delhi' and is priced at As.10/-

The following is the free translation of the important passages:--

Page 12 last para:--

"The amendments moved by Maulana Hesrat Mohani".

"Maulana Hasrat Mohani was the first to propose an amendment, the gist of which was this that the ultimate object of the Congress should be that Swaraj be secured through all possible ways and means instead of through all legitimate and peaceful means. No one seconded this amendment and the mover had to withdraw it in the end. The second amendment was this that Swaraj without the British Government should be attained. This amendment was hotly discussed and many spoke on the amendment enthusiastically and excitedly. Maulana Hasrat Mohani in the course of his speech said, that in his opinion, the beauty of Swaraj was only this that full liberty and independence should be attained. He further said that this faith obtaining full political liberty depended on the complete overthrow of the British Government. Since last year, it has been evident that no justice can he had from the British Government in the Khilafat and the

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Punjab questions any longer. As long as the British Government exists, there can be no change in its bad motives and intentions."

Page 47 extract from the presidential address of C.R.Dass:--

"Gentlemen, you must remember that I have girded my lions for the sake of India and it is on account of this that I have resounded to your unanimous call. I am thankful that you have placed your confidence in me. But at the same time I must tell you that I have no worldly wisdom to place before you. I have come amongst you from such a city which has now had full experience of the wrath and oppression of Government. Methods and ways are being adopted to throttle political life. The reason of all this, I believe is that the public should be awed into giving a welcome to the Prince of Wales and the heir-apparent of England. But I tell you that only those who are slaves will welcome His Royal Highness to Calcutta on the 24th December. Gentlemen. I think that in the course of our present-struggle we should make it clear what our ultimate aims are. What are our aims and objects? To what goal are we proceeding? I hope that many of you will agree with me that we have come forth to attain liberty - that liberty which will free us from the yoke of foreign rule and foreign interference."

Page 52 second para further extract from the presidential address of C.R.Dass:--

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"And I criticize the rule of the British Government because as long as a vestige of this power exists, the perfection of our Nationality, Humanity and Rank is, in my opinion, impossible. In reaching this conclusion I have not given any consideration to the qualities and mode of Government of the British rule in India. This Government may be good or bad, we have nothing to do with it. It is good as well as bad to a certain extent. but the foundation of the result of my deliberations which I now place before you is based upon this unimpeachable fact that slavery is a calamity which is a deadly poison to national life and which forms an obstacle in the way of perfection of the growth of national aspirations India must have her freedom whether it be attained within the empire or through non-co-operation with Government in order to enable her to weigh her rank and freedom of life and to shape her destiny without the interference or assistance of the British Government".

Page 69 third para Extract from the above adress (continued).

"Gentlemen, the motive in passing the Criminal Law Amendment Act is not to frighten the supporters of the Non-co-operation movement out of spreading the movement in the country but it is to throttle all the constructive programmes of the Congress and the N.C.O.Movement. It is new for you to stand up against all such threats and enactments".

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Page 99, second para extract from the Presidential address of Hakim Ajmal Khan the President of the All-India Khilafat Conference Ahmedabad:--

"The British Ministers have all along maintained that they were prepared to sign the treaty of peace with the Turks, but that they were helpless because they had to regard to the wishes of their Allica. These ministers should be asked what have they to say now when they see with their own eyes that France has already signed a separate treaty with Angers. Italy new remains, but she too is proving sympathetic towards the Turks. Now after all this if the terms of the treaty with Turkey are not finally amended, who is responsible for it? Is it Britain or any other power?"

Page 101, Second para extract from the above address(continued):--

"Religious freedom which was so much spoken of by the bureaucracy has also disappeared (done away with) As as result of the Karachi trial, we have learnt the extent and scope of this so-called religious freedom. According to the interpretation of such freedom made by the officials, it takes second place to policy and the demands of Government, This is all its value".

Besides the above passages, the book contains the full text of the presidential address of Maulana Hasrat

Mohani, which he delivered as the President of the Sessions of the All India Muslim League, held at Ahmedabad, which has been considered to be so objectionable as to necessitate the prosecution of Hasrat Mohani. This address covers 11 pages (65 to 65) of the book.

Selections from G.O.S. relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat Movement (1920-25)
Proscribed literature: Tamil books (1922).

Extracts from Proscribed Tamil Books and Pamphlets.

"Desiya Kirthanangal" by S.S. Veluchchami Kavirayar of Palni.

(4) G.O.No.749, (Mis.) Public, dt.18-9-1922.

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The book begins with an introduction by S. Krishnaswami Sarma and contains, besides songs in praise of certain deities, 31 songs, many of which detail the merits of men like Messrs. Gandhi, Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Varadarajulu Naidu, Yakub Hassan, Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, who have been, in the opinion of the author, labouring hard for the country, while the rest describe, among other things, the 'Punjab Massacre', the glory of India, the evils of drink and the value of soul force. The concluding songs pray for the victory 'Goddess Bharata', the flag of India, the Indian Muslims and the leaders of the Congress.

Desiya Kirtanangal.

(National hymns).

Page 9, Stanza 3. *He assumed the human form and saw the misery of the people. He is the one who has remonstrated and contended that the partial justice with which administration is carried on is wrong.

Page 10, Stanza 6. *He is the head of the secret society where Muhammad Ali and the mighty Shaukat Ali meet and is the preacher of the liberty of the country.

Page 12, Stanzas 1 & 7. Mahatma Gandhi, the benefactor, who does good to the Bharata country by means of the true realization of the excellent vow of non-cooperation, is a happy and distinguished soul.

Page 14. Kindled by the idea that no man need live in the condition of a beast on account of the depressed state of the mind under the impression that it is so ordained by fate, and actuated by a feeling of love, Mahatma Gandhi asserts that he will cherish (this idea) even at the risk of his life.

* Refers to Gandhi.

Page 17, Stanza 4. *He chastised the evil conduct (born) of low desire and thus saved (the people) so that they might become imbued with the attachment for their own country and the fraud of slavery might go down.

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Pages 17 & 18. Gandhi, the great personage, who may be spoken of as Sri Rama, is an incarnation of God in the Kali Yuga, whose religion is to protect the classes of men that have lost (their) strength and to dispel illusion. He is Sri Krishna who once listened to the complaints of the subjects and prevented the grief of cows by means of the Govardhan hill. He is Lord Siva whose colour is that of the evening clouds and who took in the poison that emanated first when the ~~xk~~ ocean was churned for ambrosia (by the Devas and Asuras) jointly and danced (thereafter). He is Lord Narasimha who at one time issued forth from a pillar for the sake of (His) devotee Prahlada.

Pages 23 & 24. It is only Mother India that bore our Moulana Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali, in order that they, who are specially fortunate men in having been imprisoned on account of their boundless devotion, may fight for the enjoyment of liberty.

Page 26. Moulana Yakub Hasan is one who has such a high sense of honour that he left the Legislative Council despising the same and is the friend that returned after having entered jail thankfully.

Pages 28 & 29. Swami Shraddhananda, who preached (to the people) at Delhi, the capital city, to get rid of the vile Rowlatt (Act) and won the name of the king of satyagraha, is a virtuous and worthy person.

Pages 29 & 30. Though there are the Parliament and several (other) Councils and teachers who have a knowledge of past events, who has rendered to us the help rendered by Mr. Horniman?

Pages 29 & 30. It is just to be grateful (to him).

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By agitating through the Chronicle, he has created in us an enthusiasm and given us strength and the national ideal.

He is so courageous that he has put up with his externment from the country as being good.

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Page 30, Stanza 1. O Bharata brethren! You had better come forward without (any) agitation and listen to the massacre that took place in the Punjab. Will sin and crime go in vain at any time, as (evidenced by) the story of Panchali who was stripped of (her) cloth?

Page 30, Stanza 2. The women of (our) friends that died by placing faith in the words of the wretched Hansraj, who had appeared in our midst like Narada, cursed (their) fate and the tears shed by them and the water that flowed from their noses ran like a river.

Page 31. Stanza 3. Why should there be repression, if it was said that a reform which did not take cognizance of who it is that won victory at the fearless battle of Flanders that took place in Europe, was not wanted? Is the vile *Duvulatt measure the proper one?

Page 31 Stanza 4. It is true that all India took a vow when Gandhi lovingly adopted satyagraha so that the vicious Rowlatt (Act) might die out completely and it is (also) true that the whites gnashed (their) teeth on that account.

Page 31 Stanza 5. On the 6th of April 1919 when all (the people of) India observed that vow under the protection of their respective deities, they closed every shop without the occurrence of any mishap.

Page 31 Stanza 6. It was only Hansraj that deceived (the people) amongst the crowd which approached and filled the highland of Jallianwallah at half past four in the evening of the 13th, by saying that there was no doubt about the notice complained of.

Page ~~x~~31 Stanza ~~4~~7. Ah! General Dyer, the scheming sinner and wretch, that came there on account of the egotistic O'Dwyer, ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ poured on the people (buttlets from) the rifles of

* Evidently, a mistake for Rowlatt.

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of armies and shot till (the stock of) his bullets ran out.

Page 32 Stanza 8. Where have we witnessed an injustice like this? He transported and awarded the sentence of death to many, as he pleased. He stripped the ladies completely of (their) waist cloth and was smearing burning tar and lime.

Page 32. Stanza 8.9. The word of Gandhi, that ordained that there should certainly be no cooperation with the English Government that lent (their) support, while the Hunter Committee had done injustice in this matter, is (like) honey.

Page 34. The land of the Indian people that seek fame is one that falls within the (range of) vision of the whites.

Pages 34 35. O our Mother! While you have got a son, Mr. Gandhi, like a mountain, is it the decree of fate for you to be in distress, with hair dishevelled, renouncing (pleasures)? While Panchali, the princess of inviolable chastity, was stripped of (her) waist cloth, the virtuous Dharmaputra curbed the agitation of Bhima and others that were close by. Is it the decree of fate for you to forget your self and bewail without thinking of the fulfilment of the retaliatory vow that was then made and without realizing (your) strength, while Veluchchami too speaks on behalf of the children (of Bharata) who were not agitated at sight of the violation of the honour of the goddesses of the Punjab?

Page 35 Certain it is that none that has self confidence has come to grief, and we alone will win victory here in future.

" If the soul-force of all people should begin to wage war, it is certain that danger will immediately befall those that offer opposition.

Page 36, Stanza 1. The day when (we) lanquished in (our) lift-time with the idea that the people of a (certain) island would govern us, is long gone by and the news of victory has become ~~xxxx~~ known.

Page 36 Stanza 1. Be not dispirited. The words uttered by Gandhi, the holy personage, who, jointly with the Ali brothers, consoled and encouraged us with affection, asking (us), according to his pure and large heart , to say 'I bow to Mother' every day, are (full of) influence to us both day and night.

/A true translation/

(Sd.)
Tamil Translator to Govt.,

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EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

"RAMA DANDU PATA"
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Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled "Rama Dandu Pata" by Thurimella Venkatasubba Rao, Governorpet, Bezwada.

G.O. No. 790, Dated 3-10-1922, Public Depatment: Confdl:

The Poem praises and advocates the need for Swaraj and describes the destressed condition of the country and the imperfect system of education. It refers to disunity among the people due to the policy of the Government and advocates non-cooperation with Government ; it also alludes to the plundering of the wealth of the country by the British and the many inustices perpetrated by them including the Punjab outrage and the Khilafat wrong.

Rama- dandu Pata (The song of the host of Rama)

Page 1

Friends and ghosts, terrors and torments, famines and diseases will vanish. Health will come, and the duration of life will be prolonged. Opulence will come as also union. To sing it is Paradise, and to hear it is amancipation.

We shall hear the word of Gandhi, and obtain Swaraj.

Page 2

We do not want one's kingdom, and none should have our country. Let each have his own kingdom, and that is Swaraj. X X X Gandhi is (God) incarnate. He has taught the Tarakamantra (lit. the magic spell of the stars), and it is the magic spell of Swaraj. If (we) bow to Gandhi, all sins will disappear. We want our kingdom to ourselves only now. When we say we want it, we want it. We do not want it, at some time or other, we know not when. We want it immediately. We do not want instalments (lit. adjournments). We do not want it, when one gives it. We will obtain it ourselves. We do not want alms, and a life of beggary. We do not want one's money, and we will not give one our wealth. Let each have his own riches. We do not want one in our home; and we do not want one's house. Everybody should be free in his own house. This is the magic spell of

of Swaraj. This is the magic spell of the stars!

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Page 3.

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Gandhi's word is the word of Vedic utterance. He has untied the secret (knot), and explained it. They cannot create dissensions. Those days are gone. New days have come. The Muslims have joined. It seems they won't kill cows. They come into temples, and we go into mosques. There is the Shaukat Ali, who is Gandhi's right arm. All the difference between the black and the white appears only in the skin. When perceived, all the people of the country are like a troop (lit. the family circle) of crows. If we say 'Ka' 'Ka' all the crows will come! Darkness has all gone, and light is come. When we opened our eyes and saw, the body was a shell, and the house was a shell (i.e. was plundered). A saucer of earth has come to the hand. All the breath is gone.

Famines.

There is no full meal; and there is no cloth to wear. Famines, prevail all over the country, as also diseases and deaths. How many are burnt firecely without food, and are getting emaciated by taking only one meal a day. The harvests go beyond the country. They are selling

Page 4.

grain at four seers a rupee. Unable to buy it, the poor and the needy are sinking. Should Swaraj come, the poor and the needy would be happy. All the grain instead of leaving the country, will be available for enjoyment. (The people) will buy at one seer an anna, and eat. They will eat their fill, and be strong. Famines and diseases will disappear only then. They will live long, and be happy. There will be no need for grits, and no necessity for gruel. We shall give them to the cattle, which will plough well. The cows would yield good milk, and would calve well. All our crops will only be for us. Swaraj means, that the crops

and the dairy produce, are for us alone. Even the cattle go to the(foreign) countries. Fearless of sin, they slaughter and eat them. They have no fear of sin. Alas! Alas ! Alas ! Alas! We will not allow the cattle to be sent away, and shall prevent them from sinning.

Education.

Legitimate studies have gone down (lit. touched the bottom) and deceitful studies have come. The language of Kisari (an onomatopoetic word, meaning the English language) has come. Intelligence has become dull.

Page 5.

Unable to cram, (they) are becoming lean and emaciated. The education of ahired-labourer has come. The education of a slave has come. All the wisdom is gone, and the mere mention of 'the country' has created nastiness. They grow very furious, at the mention of the vernacular languages. On seeding the ryots, they say that they are boorish-fellows. They desolate village,s and come to towns. This education leads to the loss of eyesight and they put on spectables. They look at the sky, and are disgusted. They pass the B.A. Degree examination, and do service. They wait, like the jacklas at the grave. Placing their hands under the table, they take bribes by force. They fight with one another about caste differences and race distinctions, and die. They sit at the table, write bundles of papers. He does not trouble himself as to who he is, or what his country is like. His only topics of conversation is the affairs of the office. He does not know at all as to what liberty is? There is neither energy in the body, nor ability in the house. All boldness has been effaced. He turns pale. He has not the look of life at all, but moves like a doll. He has not the strength even to walk a single mile at a stretch. The duration of life has gone down (lit. touched the bottom). Untimely deaths prevail. We do not want at all the education,

which sucks up and squeezes the vitals dry. Let each have his own education. (We) do not want one's education for another. (We) do not want the education, which ruins us. (we) do not want the education, which fetters us.

Page 6.

Independence.

We should freely move about, eat, and sing at ease like the birds of the air. We do not want cages. We do not want confinements. Though, after it is tied down and kept confined, it is taught words, and given fruits, unripe and ripe as well, yt it is but a parrot in the prison. The birds on the trees freely roam about, that is Swaraj; and such is wanted. The thirty crores of people (of India) are bound down in the cage. They must break all the bonds, and rush out. This is the magic spell of Gandhi, this the magic spell of Swaraj. This is the only incantation, a superior charm.

Unanimity.

They set up quarrels, and devise frauds, They divide and rule. Open the eyes and see. The banner of the Swaraj Car is flying! Pull it straightway. Look at the road and pull, avoiding ditches and pits, alleys and lanes, without trepidation, in spite of impediments, afflictions and losses. Drag it hard only along the way mentioned by Gandhi. All obstacles will vanish, as if by magic- the Justice party and the Moderates, the missionaries and the Company (the English), the bureaucrat and the slave, the Rai Bahadurs and the Rao Bahadurs, the foreign papers and the police violence, many a traitor to the country and the gulam khanas (the manufactories of slaves). Old men and lean persons, B.A's and M.A.'s and many a crowd, are peeping and peeping again. They cannot come near the car. We cannot say whether, if they come, they will fall under the car. Let us not have anything to do with them. We do not want

their way. Let each have his own path. Let any on the road beat or abuse, shoot or fry, or put (us) in jail we shall have no fear! What can anybody do? Beat us if you like , kill us if you please, put us in prison, and send us to the Andamans! However great the tortures bow to them! We will not let go the rope of the car. We have held it fast. We have grasped it like Bhima

Page 8

(the Indian Hercules). What can any one do? We are thirty crores. No one's game will go on. None has the power to impede the swiftness of the car. Softly slip away. Come to a compromise. Look to your means of life without any loss of respect. Hear our words. Do not torture living beings. We are all brethern. How long will the people be tearing and eating one another. It is well if all ~~the~~ are peaceful. Justice and righteousness are the same for all. The house is falling, and has to be set right! X X X We will do the swaraj sacrifice, and make burnt offerings. The God of Fire will come, and give his milk-pudding. It is the Swaraj-pudding; we shall distribute it among ourselves, and eat it. It is the very ambrosia. The world of the God of Death will go, and Heaven and divinity will come.

Page 9.

The vow of Swadesi.

The Swadesi spinning wheel is the machine of Swaraj. It is the wheel, at which grandfathers and grandmothers spin. It is said to be the missile-weapon of the God Vishnu. It is said to be the arrow of God Rama. Establish it, in lakhs and lakhs, in every house. If people move about, wearing the clothes woven with the hand-spun yarn, the contagious disease will go. The goddess of wealth will violently dance in every home. The coarse cloths alone will show us the road to liberation. Slavery will be gone, and independence will come. We

ought to repeat inaudibly the magic spell of Swaraj. We should make an asseveration of oath not to touch, or come into contact with the foreign cloth. We do not want the white mulls, the Glasgow mulls, the book-muslins and the polished and gleaming cloths. To touch or come into contact with them, to tie or wear them is sinful and hellish. We shall suffer desolation The company's (the English) cloths, are the cloths which ruin us. He imports in crores cloths of deceitful modes and fraudulent colours, and takes all the wealth by force. He pulunders, goes away, and gets the entire profit. He catches like the leech, and sucks up all

The vow of Swadeshi

Page 10

the blood. If the spinningwheel is turned, his game will not gon on. He will perish. He will vanish. Crores of wealth will remain only for us. The Goddess of poverty will proceed to their house. We should therefore note their joints and brand them there. We have known their secret. They have prospered through the cloth (trade) If any of us goes about wearing the foreign clothes remostrate with him, and tell him firmly that it is a sin. The foreign merchants suck up and squeeze the vitals dry. They take away our cotton, make it into cloths cast earth into our mouths, and snatch away the money from us. With the money of our country, they become the lords of crores of rupees, and hoist flags over their stories buldings and on their ships, and move gracefully in them. Sixty crores of wealth will all remain for us. We shauld therefore be all bound together. Placing one's hand in that of another, swear in the name of the father, the mother, the Goddess Parvati, and the Goddess Kali, that you will not touch or come into contact with the foreign cloth. They should be flung into the fire, and burnt! Perform the funeral rites of the foreign cloths!

Page 11

Page 11 214 423

The Punjab slaughter.

The Punjab murders are horrible villanies ! Our hearts are agitated, when we think of them. When thousands of people were sitting in the Jallianwalla Bag, General Dyer brought in a regiment of soldiers, opened fire with a crashing sound, and shot at the crowd, without trembling or fright! There were heaps of corpses, and thousands of wounds! He took away lives. He killed them in a moment. To him black(men's) lives were insignificant (contemptible)! He eats our money and slays even us. He drinks the milk of the mother, but strikes her breast with his fist! Taking pension, he is moving gracefully. Some of the white men say, 'well done'. 'Bravo', They collect subscriptions, and construct towers for him! They applaud him. Alas! Alas! Fraudulent time! There is no justice! If one's life is taken away, (they) punish him with death. He took away the lives of so many people in a single instant. He fired at one stretch so long as there were gunpowder and cannon-balls! When such white fellows take away our lives, there is no one (lit. no refuge) to find it out and there is none to punish them!

Page 12.

If there were swaraj, would his game go on? Sinful time had come, and he became prosperous (lit. his crops ripened) He destroyed ever so many people (lit. consigned ever so many to his paunch). They sing of the horrors of the Punjab in every home! There are lamentations and curses in every home. The demon of Dyer is in England. He eats our money, and gives lectures. The taxes we pay, maintain him. Never was there such a crime as this! If there were no swaraj, our modesty and life would not be saved. Such villanies will excessively increase. The lives of black men are bugs and musquitoes.

We cannot forget the villanies of the Punjab, even if we will. If the Government were ours, our word would take effect; the officers who eat our money should listen to our command, and look down. If they do not pay heed like that, we will not give slaries to them. We shall dismiss them. We will not pay taxes. Insead of crores of rupees being plundered, we shall spend them here alone, and ameliorate the country. The foreign servants will not hear our word. They forcibly ride upon us. Justice has perished, and injustice rules. There are deceitful courts and roguish committees. God is our only refuge. Rama is our only protection. The Government of the Punjab is a demoniacal rule. We do not want the rule of Dyers; we do not want. We cannot crawl on our stomachs! We cannot walk in the sun! We cannot endure the violation of modesty! We cannot bear the lashes of the whip! We cannot suffer any tortures! All lives are one. The torments of the Punjab have taught a good lesson.

Courts- Pleaders.

There are roguish courts, and ruinous stamp expense. They make adjournments, and the law-suits increase. All you pleaders, give up your profession. Do not foment quarrels. Do not ruin (us). The B.L. passes have become bonds for us. Relinquish your sanads (lit. titles) have the courts shut, and look at our distresses. You are our preceptors. Listen to the word of Gandhi, and do not multiply the law suits. X X X How long do you remain without abandoining your profession? Give it up! Give it up! Honour is gone. Look ahead. Break the bonds. Many have snapped them. Do you not understand what is meant by Swaraj? Though you have studied sciences and books, arise immediately, and come. Renounce your profession at once, to preach well in every town and village, and plead for swaraj, like the rest of you. Believe that to go to courts is a sin. The blare of the conchshell is resounding in our ears.

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How long will you be without going, when the flying swaraj flag lifts up its hand, and calls you? If you delay, we will be done for (lit. touch the bottom).

Foreign countries.

To whichever country we may go, they call the Indian a cooly. They say, he is a coarse fellow. They do not allow him to set his foot. Our life has become contemptible. Like an old theif, we have to make the thumb-impression. We have to pay the poll-tax. Ours has become the life of coolies, the life of prisonsers. How long this existence? If we go to Canada or the land of Africa, they will not let us set our foot there. We should not enter Australia at all. Look at Natal! They say there is no room in it. They are all white people. Where whitemen are, they say, that they want the kingdoms of balckmen for themselves. They say that blackmen should do cooly-work, and other low and uncertain kinds of work. They say, that black-fellows are brutes, and obstinate blockheads! They say, that we should not be their equals. They get their backyards and gardens prepared by us. They get cooly-work done by us, and thrive. They snatch away crores of wealth as profits. They have made much distinction between white men and black men. Black fellows should not receive education and should not do trade. White men take away the lands of theblack men by force.

Page 16.

In the name of civilisation, they thrust out the legitimate person, and wrongfully occupy (his domain) They have snatched away many countries. They say that Natal belongs to white men. They look upon us as worse than beasts. They have all comforts, while we have all afflictions! They give the posts of peons, and disgracefully small salaries to black fellows. They snatch away all the business which brings in pfofit.

They establish companies, and ruin us (lit. take away our house). They take a contract for trade (the bargains) and plunder (us). Their word prevails, while our word does not succeed. They say that they are superior, and we are inferior. If they come for a wager, we will not be behind them in anything. There is no liberty even at home. How can we have it in the neighbouring house? (Our) name is completely effaced! Honour is gone(. We have to hang down our heads! Unfavourable time is come. Justice has died and inustice is reigning! There is not even the name of righteousness! Unrighteousness itself is the king! To utter 'God' is like foul language (to them)! They say that we should not open our mouths, and that we should not touch the pen!. They enact fresh and new laws. We do not know what statutes they are. The laws are a basketful! Crowds of thieves try to thrive in the name of (these) laws! They try to deceive us. They divide (among themselves)

Page 17.

and eat. How long should the days be passed like this, without even a trifle (a grain) of liberty? Of God! A moment is an age! We cannot wait yet more ! Give us our kingdom, and guard us ! Establish tranquility without loss of time.

The Untouchables.

The Hindus have pressed them down as people who cannot be touched. The Hindus are therefore in slavery and are suffering afflictions! Open your eyes at least hereafter, and completely drive out untouchability. If they are pressed down, why will Swaraj come? Our Mala (Adi-Andhra) brethren who do not know fraudulence or dissumulation are joining deceitful religions; stop them from doing so, and give them education.

Toddy and Arrack.

They cause the abkari-bids, the abkari-shops, the toddy-sheds the brandy-shops, bhang and opium to be sold all overthe country. All the money goes away in lakhs and crores.

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Page 19.

Give up sinful drinking at once, else the Indian nation cannot lift up its head in future. A real Hindu, a just Mussalman, and a true Christian will never drink. Drinking results in the intermixture (of caste). Mortality will increase. Learning English they drink brandy bottles! With eyes reddened, they smoke cigarettes. The western (the English) breeze having blown on them, the sons of mother India are being ruined through drinking. The community of labourers is dying without cooly. The deceitful drink is more harmful than a great plague.

Page 20.

Form yourselves into a compact, and give up drinking. Charge (those who drink) with the transgression of social laws. Do not allow the drunkard and the seller of drink to come near you. Make ordinances in your several communities. See that people do not bid at the abkari sales; do not sell, and do not drink. If this think is done, Swaraj will immediately fall into our hands. Let the men of all religions join together, and stop drinking. Bind yourselves, to see, that no even a drop of it is sold in India. If Swaraj comes, abkari will go, and there will be no drunkards. We will not permit intoxicating liquors to be sold. We will not allow brandy bottles to come. All the labouring classes will thrive and be happy. We have nothing to do with the abkari revenue (lit. money). If the abkari is effaced, crimes will not take place.

Page 21.

Christianity.

In this righteous war, we too like Christ will suffer tortures, and give up our lives. We shall achieve universal conquest, and follow the path of Christ.

The religion of Islam.

Read the Koran, Mohomet had taught virtuous doctrines, said that all men were one, and lifted up religion. Emperor

Akbar, the Padisha at Delhi, mixed with the Hindus and was connected with them.by marriage. The Nizam Tanisha ruled with justice. They would do the festivities for God Rama at Bhadradri; and used to give very high appointments to the Hindus.

Page 22.

The Khilafat.

Injustice was done to the Sultan of Turkey. They (the British) had made promises, and took away all the countries by force. They had separated the holy places of Mecca, Medina, Jidda, and Jerusalem from his sovereignty, did injustice to the Khilafat and cuased much horror. They have forgotten all their words, and have no regard for truth. How can there be peace anywhere in the world till justice is done to Islam, and the Khilafat problem is settled? The meetings they hold, and the decisions they make, are fraudulent tricks. They are all for their own benefit. Mohomad Ali and Shaukat Ali have joned Gandhi.

The righteous war.

The righteous war is come. Join the army. Hold in the hand, the weapon of non-violence. You had better be your own prop. The righteous war must be waged for the liberation of the whole mankind. Brute force must diminish. We must establish tranquility all over the world. Unrighteousness and inustice are growing excessively.

Page 23.

Brute force, the torture of life, the sin of covetousness, the might of authority, and ill-gotten wealth must perish and go to (lit.touch) the bottom. Wrath, cupidity, infatuation, and malice must be destroyed. Only then, shall we get swaraj. Peace is swaraj! Contentment is Swaraj! When one gets upon another, tramples him hard under the foot, tears him up, and eats him, there will be bloodshed. Gird up your loins and wage the righteous

war, so that no even a drop of blood is spilt on the ground. Wage war in the belief, that the riding over one, and the submission to one are the cuase of ruin. Cupidity and wrath are the root of everything. We must now make the war of the truthful Harischandra and the youthful Prahlada. Like them we ought to suffer our afflictions and tortures , with endurance. Victory will happen without fail! We shall require strength. Truth alone is our mother. Peace alone is our relative. Peltious kindness is indeed the 'Kamadhenu' (the cow of plenty, supposed to give whatever one desires) for us. Patriotism is the

Page 24.

divine nectar. Union is strength. Let all join. Are not these bodies the rented-houses for the soul? Are not the transient bodies mere water-bubbles? It is the body of fame alone that endures. Offer up the soul to God, when He will accomplish your desires. You will succeed, and be prosperous. Ever sing the history of Prahlada, and walk in his path!. All the Indians should become Prahladas. Gandhi is Prahalada himself. There is no difference at all. The preaching of Gandhi, is but the creed of Prahlada. If in this present world, there is ever one who is a match to Gandhi, fold your finger, and say it. Swaraj is coming. It is not afar off. It is within sight. We shall go forward, and behold it. Come quickly!. Come quickly! clapping hands rise at once, and come. Lo! There is Swaraj!

Page 25.

We shall offer our adorations to the Goddess of Swaraj. Lo! There she is come violently dancing, with the Goddess of corn and wealth! Look! Here is Swaraj! Crops and milk, riches and proscperity, health and long life, and opulence will come to those who sing and those who hear the song of Rama dandu (Rama's host).!

17.

EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

"SWARAJYA- THAMBULAM"

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Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled "Swarajya Thambulam" by Kondapalli Jagannadha Das and printed by K. Subbaraydu & Brothers at Scape & Co., Cocanada in the year 1922.

G.O. No. 991, Dated 3-10-1922, Public Department:

This booklet contains songs of three kinds, Kirtanas, Javalis and Padas. 'It starts with the advocacy of the Swadesi cloth, describes Gandhi as the soul of the universe and inveighs against Polluted cloths of the white men.' It refers to the Punjab slaughters and contracts the non-violent methods of the people of the country with the violence practised by the English; it also contains an appeal to the prince of Wales to remove India's afflictions.

The Swarajya Tambulam.

Page 1.

Stanza 1 : O! My brother! Here is the tambulam (the betal-leaf and areca-nut formed into a parcel ready for use) of swarajya. Accept it. This my brother, is just the time to enjoy the prosperity of swaraj.

2 : Listen, our swaraj lies only in the swadesi cloth. xxx

3 : The Hindu-Mussalman unity is our Indian swaraj. xxx

4 : O father! If you are a son of India, who knows the truth that the cleaned-cotton stick ~~and~~ is an ~~an~~ iron peg (to the Englishmen), come, turning quickly the spinning-wheel with the hand, and singing songs.

Page 2.

6 : If the meaning of non-violent non-coperation is fully understood, come, exposing the heart to the bullet-shot, and asking 'When is the festival?'

7 : Realise the supreme significance of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi is the soul of the Universe xxx

9 : This tambulam has been made of leaves chewed by men who wage the war of perfect peace in the world.

10 : It is only Gandhi that leads. We are ~~walking~~ following. But afraid of leading, we have been confused. Who is the Gandhi that leads? Is he a ~~mand~~ man or Hara (the God of destruction)?

4
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Stanza 1: Of what use is the life of a Hindu, who does not worship God-Gandhi- Mohana (Gandhi) who is God Vishnu, God Krishna, and the Eternal one?

Page 3.

2: It is Mohandas (Gandhi) alone who is the heir of the family of the original God.

4: He was born as a Hindu to remove the afflictions of the Hindus. Instead of dying in doubt, know that he is Mukunda (God Vishnu).

5: He was removing the peril of the thirty crores of Indians. He was turning us (away) who were walking on the wrong path.

6: While (we) were subject to the illusion of the mull cloths, unable to leave them off, he wore only a clout and has been doing penence.

7: Adore Jagan mohanadas who is the 'Sutradhara' (the Manager or the principal actor in a play or drama, or the person behind the scenes who pulls the strings of puppets) of the world-drama, who is the emperor of the world, and who grants boons to Jagannadha Das.

Burden:- Swaraj, swaraj to those who put their trust in Mahatma Gandhi.

Page 4.

Stanza 2 :Swaraj, to the associations of those prudent Hindus (Indians) who have abandoned the foreign cloth;

3 :Swaraj, to the large number of the men of liberal conduct who have burnt the foreign cloth.

4 :Swaraj, to the groups of the youthful Hindu leaders, who have left off slave-education.

5 :Swaraj, to the bodies of the Hindu pleaders, who have deserted the illusive courts.

8: Swaraj, to the multitude of the Hindus, who are the embodiment of dharma, and who beleive that righteousness is victory.

Page 5.

223 - 44

Burden:- O Child! Do not wear the English cloth. Take an oath, that you will not wear it hereafter.

Stanza 1: Do not wear the deceptive English cloth, which makes us forget our race and our creed, and causes us to fall from (the height of) our religion.

2: Do not put on the wicked English cloth, which spoils unanimity, without any regard as to whether they are brothers wife or children.

3: Do not wear the polluted cloth of the white men, renouncing the cloth of spun-yarn and the thin clean cloth.

4: Do not put on the illusive mull-cloth, which violates modesty, abstaining from our cloths which protect it (modesty).

Page 6.

Burden: Come, come! My Gandhi! Son! Come, come! my dead!

Stanza 2: Come, come! Gandhi! Why don't you come and sit down upon the lap? Have you no leisure, O son! for even half a second.

3: O, son! Do not forget the word of Dyer, a man without honour, who has outraged modest women. Honour alone is life.

4: Come, God Narasimha, God Krishna, the Vanquisher of Mura! Come holy Rama, the lord of the Raghus, the destroyer of the demon Ravana!

5: (I do not know) how you are going to knock down the courts which plunge (our) houses in ruin, O my son! The burden is only yours. O, son! I confide in you alone.

6: O, my son! Mix with the earth the education which destroys religion, O, son! O slayer of Kamsa, the demon! There is none who is (our) refuge.

Page 7.

We have been feeling anguish for the slaughters

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af of the Punjab; but we have not cut as under even a single white doria (Britisher). We cry out 'Allah', for the sake of that Khilafat, but we have not murdered even one Englishman. When (they) say, "we have punhished (you)", we go to jail; but we have not tormented even a single Hindu (Indian). When (they) say, "Here is the bullet", we show the heart; but we have not cut to pieces even one wretched dorai (Britisher). As we are waging the war, standing on the earth, and wearing the armour of righteousness, and trusting in the lotus-like feet of god-Gandhi, we have no doubt about our victory.

Burden: O, god Gandhi ! O, god Gandhi!

Standa 1: We have suffered for so many days, we can no longer suffer. O, saviour, the burden of profecting us is yours.

2: We are thirty and three crores. For how many days shall we roam about like this suffering distresses?

Page 8

3: They give us todday to drink and make us get intoxicated. Coming back to our senses, we have moved aside.

4: Having become slaves, we cannot live. Guard (our) honour, and come to protect us.

5: There is famine for even food and cloth, Where shall we go, holding our stomachs in our hands.

6: We cannot henceforth suffer the torments of taxes. having opened our eyes, we have watched for your mercy.

7: Ever thinking of the magic-spell of your name, we have felt that you yourself are our refuge.

8: We have practised the act of non-violent non-co-operation. Why delay any further ?

9: We will give the heart to the bullet-shot. This fame should remain for India.

Why do you not at least henceforth leave off this deceptive education, this fradulent service , and this deceitful court.

Page 9.

Burden: Elder brother! Elder brother!

Stanza 1: Even (the demon) Ravana will prove (lit-appear) to be a good king. Why (do you seek) the service of Kings ? Come, come! Listen! Leave (it) off.

2: The Karachi resolution alone is the supreme end,. Why do you not come hurriedly? Here is swaraj.

3: O, brother, Verily, wherefore is the life in which the measure of a lie is told for the span of a stomach?

4: You are a man of honour. Wherefore is the service of the vile fellows, who ravish (the modesty of) honourable women?

5: The lotus-eyed Mahatma Gandhi is a god before our very eyes. Why do you not closely examine?

6: Listen to the cry of Jagannadha Das and, expelling desires, know non-co-operation.

Stanza 2: We must think, and think again. Whom should we think of? We should always be thinking of god Gandhi.

Page 10.

3: We must tie and tie again. What should we tie? We should ever be tying the cloth made of spun-yarn.

4: We must burn and burn again. What should we burn? we should always be burning the cloth made of English yarn.

5: We must give up, and give up again,. What should we give up? We should give up toddy which makes our body and our house a shell.

6: We must speak, and speak again. What should we speak? We should ever speak the truth, though our wind_pipes burst.

7: We must go, and go again. Where should we go? We should to to jail, for the liberation of the country.

Burden: Father! Resign the fraudulent appointments.

Page 11. 226 —447.

Stanza 1: Service is a hindrance to the path of wealth, life and honour,. It is far from morality. It never vonsiders about the race.

2: The body is abominable. The god of death is waiting. Service is deceitful. There is no justice at all.

3: You know that the holy Gandhi is god; and why should you, like a thief, make salutations, bowing and bowing again.

4: Indeed, you do a thing which ought not to be done for the sake of food. Are you so destitute as not to have even a single meal? Think of the spinning-wheel as the only refuge.

5: Time has changed, and the wicked time has been passing. When I asked you, O, my brother! Abandon the deceptive Courts! you have not ~~given it up~~.anandoned (them). What a delusion it is! When I asked you, O, my father! Give up the fraudulent education! you have not given it up. What a delusion it is! When I asked you, O, my sir! Abstain from the deceitful drink!, you have not abstained from it. What a delusion it is! When I asked you, O my dad! Leave off the illusive mulls! you have not left them off. What a delusion it is! Although god-Gandhi has been touring about the whole country three times, preaching, and is suffering for our sake, we have no sense of shame at all. Hwo then can Swaraj come to us?

Page 12

Burden: Brother! What do you say now? Our own men are angrywith us.

Stanza 1: Born and brought up in India, our men have not yet given up their ignorance even a bit.

Stanza 2: They will regard the 'badhuka' (bhad is the fee paid to a go-between to procure a dancing girl etc) service alone as gold, and say that the slavish life has been very good.

3: Just as one pierces one's eye with one's own finger (i.e. turning one's arts against oneself) he has tormented us without considering that we are his own men.

4: Caught in the trick of the enemy who gives toddy, saying that it is milk, he does not consider the cemetery-like office (appointment) asa false one.

6: Having forgotten the word of our god-Gandhi, who guards us, they have become destitute of true honour.

Page 13:

Burden: Friend! Tell me if you have seen Mahatma Gandhi or not?

Stanza 1: Gandhi had come yesterday or the day before. Did you not see him to your satisfaction? He is god Vishnu, the holy Krishna. Do not grow mad, and be ruined.

2: He is the god Krishna, the son of Vasudeva, who was born to remove the afflictions, of the Indians. Be not deceived.

3: Listen! He is god Madhava (Vishnu) who will certainly secure for us swaraj within one year.

4: It is not possible for us to know God. Without understanding god Rama, Kika was ruined through cupidity.

Burden: the occasion is good. O, amiable one! Rise! Come !
The time is good , rise and come up quickly.
Why do you not resign the fradulent service?
Why do you not resign?

Page 14.

Stanza 1: Service which is devoid of self-respect and morality is no longer worthy of you. You are a Hindu by race. Beware! Beware!

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Stanza 2: O, brother! Is it just on your part to throw dust into the eyes of the mother-country, the mother that gave you birth! Elder brother! Elder brother!

3: Righteousness will triumph at last on the earth. Why do you not know the secret? It is your fate! It is your fate!

4: There is not much time. Why do you delay? It is enough. It is enough. Come saying, "refuge","refuge".

Burden: The beautiful spinning-wheel is a nice bomb. Why should there be any doubt? In that alone is swaraj.

Stanza 2: That alone will hide sixty crores of rupees for us. Famine and scarcity will become a word in the dream.

3: Alas! Gandhi the God of gods has been troubled. He wore only the clout. Wear the Khadder cloth.

Page 15.

5: The spinning-wheel alone is the swaraj-wheel. The spinning-wheel is the bundle of our men. The spinning-wheel alone is (our) refuge. The spinning-wheel itself is the door to England. Know the secret of the spinning-wheel, and get the Kingdom.

Burden: O, heir-apparent to the throne! Why do you come? What have you brought? What have you given?

Stanza 1: O, my young heir-apparent to the throne! O,son of George! Here are the charges, sir, please listen.

2: Fraudulent servants have committed deceit, sir. Do not be deluded by deceitful words.

3: Your gentlemen have exercised sway (over the country) so that six crores of men are without food. Listen, Sir.

4: When they seize their feet, saying, "O,father! We do not want doddy!, they are kicking us, sir,saying, 'you drink'.

Page 16.

5: There was no limit to the slaughters of the Punjab, Sir. Look at the colour of the traces of blood.

6: They have made the Khilafat problem in that fashion, and have mixed with the earth all religious duties.

Stanza 7: Did you forget the moral policy of Edward, your grandfather? O, my honoured King! Maintain the reputation, Sir.

8 : Without knowing any sin, we are subjected to you,. It is not honourable, sir, to cause us grief.

9 : You distress (E) us in diverse ways. Tell us, sir, when (we shall have) liberation.

10 : Reciting the magic-spell of our god-Gandhi, we have stood in the war of peace, to die.

11 : You have had the mind to see us, sir. Remove our afflictions, and then go.

Page 17.

Although you (Indians) recognise all the duties (dharmas), yet you have committed sin; you do not think of the race; you do not care for virtue or sin; you have forgotten morality; you are plunged in deep sleep; you do not rise, when told 'get up', 'get up'; you have become covetous saying, 'wealth', 'wealth'; you think that it will follow you; what a sinful deed you have set yourself to commit! You have fallen into the bonds of fate; you do not open your eyes even yet. Yes! O, Gandhi, the repository of kindness!

The jail is the house of god Krishna. The jail is the place of Tilak Maharaj. The jail reveals the form of the soul.

Page 18.

The jail has made known that Gandhi is a god. There are chouris so that flies may not light. There are sentries with double-barralled guns. There are timely meals. The dorais (the British) will be under us (as) hands.) The dorias (the British) cannot write our file. Why do you not stroke you moustaches? Depend upon it, that the bodies are for the cemetery. This illusive skin will not accompany us. We will

never have any good. Gandhi's conduct itself is our token. His preaching only is our comfort. His preaching only is our comfort. His evotion alone is our enjoyment. If we go once, that is enough for us. Be ready to go, it is convenient for you. Let us get our swarajyas. Yes, O, Gandhi, the mine of kindness!

Page 19.

When(we) say, 'you were born from the womb of mother-India and are wearing moustaches', you will get irritated, so much as this, indeed. Why so? Renounce that deceptive guise. Listen! However much you get, it is for the s tomach. Why so much weariness for that? Yes, Gandhi, the store of kindness!

We have joined the peace-army. We are waging the war of peace. We have found out Gandhi to be a god. We have said that there will be none who will beleive and be ruined We have said that rightenousness will not meet with ill-success. We are worshipping the feet of Gandhi. We have visited Gandhi. We have had the multitude of our sins entirely removed. We have broken the bond of desire. We have suppressed lust and wrath. We have subdued avarice and ignorance. We have cut off arrogance and malice.

Page 20.

We have pxurified the body. We have become awarethat the body is transcient. We are rendering services to the country. We are roaming about for the emancipation of the country. We have renounced the methods of torture. We are enduring all afflictions. We have understood the secret of the Gita (the song of God). We are singing the Gandhi songs. We have burnt down the decptive mills. We have abandoned the fraudulent courts. We have shunned the deceitful studies. We have left off the deceptive guises. We gave up the deceitful drink. We shall make an ideal kingdom (Rama Rajya). We will maintain the righteousness of Rama. We have swallowed down the sorrows of prisan. We are going in thousands. We shall fillthe

the existing jails. We shall ask them to build new jails.

Page 21.

We have ruminated over the fact that the body is illusive. We have said that death is inevitable to men. We have stated that the god of death will devour men at some time. We have effected the reformation of the mind, and therefore, we have renounced the triple cares. (i.e. the sorrows caused by ourselves, others and by the will of God). We have perceived the way of liberation. We have commendably served with the squirrel's evotion. We will yield up our lives for the emancipation of the country. We will give our hearts for the bullet-shots. We will give our bodies for the strikings of the bomb. We will give our necks for the blows of the sword. We shall endure all torments. We shall fulfill the commands of Gandhi. We shall chase out the bondage of the country. We shall remove slavery. We shall retain our manhood. We shall maintain the fame of the Indians. We shall maintain the virtues of the Hindu religion. We shall remove the grief of Mother India.

Page 22.

We shall say, 'Mother! Here is swaraj!' We shall say that god Gandhi has given it. We shall beseech her 'why do you grieve?' We shall thus liquidate the debt to the mother. Yes, O, Gandhi, the mine of kindness!

Burden: O, women! How much has Gandhi's mind become dejected! It has become dejected very much. It has become very much dejected.

Stanza 2: O, lady companion! ~~How much has Gandhi~~ You have been like the snake covered with slough. Castoff, O, companion! The slough of the saree (garment) of British yearn.

3: O, friend Is that heavier than the burden of the family?

45

Stanza 3: O, friend! Is that heavier than the burden of the family? O, charming lady! Why did you have the fear to bear the burden?

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Page 23.

Burden: O, Gandhi! O, Mohan Das of abundant grace! Who is there equal to you?

O, Gandhi, of abundant mercy, and full of good qualifies! 'you have investigated, and investigated again, and at last saw a righteous way, not possible for anyone. Ah! O, prince of sages!

Burden: O, soul! Non-cooperation is the means of swaraj- non-cooperation, which is the message of the Congress of the dependent people of all India (which met) at Nagpur and other places. The dtermination of the excellent patriots is fruitful of the emancipation of the country.

Sd.B.Somasundara Rao, 2.9.22.
Acting Telugu Translator to Government.

Fort St. George,
1st Sep. 1922.

TRUE COPY

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS(BHARATA DESA SWANTRYAMU).

Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled "Bharata Desa Swatantryamu", by C.F. Andrews, published by G. Venkata Subrahmanyam, at the Upendra Publishing House, No.17 Narayana Mudali Street, George Town, Madras, printed at the Tata Printing Works, Madras and Indian Printing Works, Madras.

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Bharata Desa Swatantryamu (The Independence of India).

Foreword.

The desire for independence is not born to-day from association with the white-faced. It is naturally born in man. A scrutiny of the great learning of the west might have given a little quick pace and movement to the intention of enjoying entire freedom in political matters. It will be far from consent to say merely on that account that it was the westerners alone who had given the ideas of liberty to the world, and that the Indians understood those ideals only from them.

The desire for political independence also is not newly born in India. If we look carefully into the matters of our history, (we find that several have formerly poured out even their blood for freedom. Such great men exceed calculation. The gem of a heroine Rani Lakshmi Bai, and excellent heroines like Samyukta, and the best of heroes like Prithvi Raj and Rana Pratap Sing, had at different times offered up their lives for the freedom of India. Who could forget Tandra Papiah who sacrificed his life for the protection of Bobbili? All these indicate the fact, that the desire for independence among the Indians is not born anew.

Eversince the day India lost her independence and fell into the possession of strangers, the splendour of her national life has become hard of attainment. The whole life of India has assumed a deformed shape, and is devoid of its real appearence. The cruel tiger of alien rule is obstructing the Indian heart from becoming completely ripe.

The destruction of sin in the world, and the establishment of righteousness should be performed by man.

India is at present waging the war of righteousness for the attainment of independence. We have published this little book in

the belief, that in this great war it will largely help the people, to know what is proper and what is improper, to understand what duty is and to execute it. X X X May the sympathy which Mr. Andrews who though a foreigner is showing towards the movement for India's independence, incite new enthusiasm among the people.

Swaraj or complete independence? 234

To one who has taken hold of Christ like me, the complete independence of India is like a religious principle. As I have travelled about the British colonies, I have recognised the wretchedness (lit. baseness) of the Indians. It is my steadfast belief, that, in the present condition of things, it will make for the prosperity of India, if she separates herself from the British Empire. The very Empire in which India lies does not allow Indians to have dwelling in its territory. It is very difficult of attainment for Indians to emigrate to regions like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and arrange dwellings there.

In the rest of the countries lying in that Empire, Indians are counted as slaves. They are looked upon as the brutes which do bodily labour. It is now more than a hundred years since the English Government was established. Yet in countries other than England, it is not possible for the Indians to act with a will of their own. In short, it is not possible for them even to set their foot in those countries. In every country to which I went, its people are puffed up (with pride) that white-men alone are great. Becoming insolent, they would thenceforward treat the men of other nations with contempt. It is hard of attainment for any Indian with self-respect, to have his residence in those countries which are the abode of the advocates of the Empire. It is that contention of the superiotity of the white-faced, which makes the Indians unworthy to dwell in those countries. It is that contention, which will become the death-dealing engine to bring calamity to the whole man-kind in the world. I will not by any means approve of such a contention. I will not hesitate by any means to condemn that creed. The contention of the superiority of the white-faced, is contrary to the established truths of my religion. My religion which believes in the brotherhood of man, and in the

creative power of the Almighty God, will not accept this contention even as much as an atom.

He who keeps another man in slavery and robs him of his independent life, can by no means be worthy of enjoying independence. If my mothercountry which gave birth to such gems of sons as, Hampden, Cromwell, Milton, Burke, Shelly, Byron, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Bright, and Gladstone, who were the lovers of freedom-if that country has trampled down the men of another nation, and has behaved unjustly, I can by no means look upon that country with a feeling of respect. If England makes slaves of foreigners in her colonies and in Ireland, and exercises arbitrary (lit. unrestrained) power, that England cannot be England to me.

If at a time when India is waging a great war for the establishment of independence, she forgets the precepts of love, and does not ~~lab~~ labour in the paths of peace, adopts the ways of violence which are pregnant with sin, and resorts to the tormentation of living beings, Indian cannot become the sacred place as desired by me. X X X That alone is the main essence of the principles of my dearest religion, If the inhabitants of India reflect upon spiritual things, and conduct themselves righteously, and obtain victory in their struggle, they alone will create an opportunity for Christ to have a second birth.

This day the continent of Europe is in a very low condition. There is no space in that continent to-day for Christ even to stand on. O, Almighty God! O, Christ! Without therefore being perplexed in your mind now, become incarnate at once in India.

The kettle-drum of your triumph will fill the whole world with new ideals, reform the people, establish the principles of love in them, and can make them devoted to the service of mankind. That alone will give the brightness of a new life to the universe, and promote (lit. can tie green festoons) the good fortune of the world, With the help of thousands of people even the League of Nations cannot give such a lofty state to mankind.

<u>The immediate necessity for India's complete independence.</u>

Little by little, we are understanding to-day, that it is the

prescribed duty of man to ~~xxp~~ uproot such, as destroy self-respect and manhood.

We have no longer to do with sweet words. Truth alone is wanted. X X X Why do we say that other movements can be stopped, but that we cannot stop, even for a moment, this movement for independence? Sir John Seeley, an English hsitorian, wrote a book entitled "The Expansion of England". Every Indian should indeed study this excellent book. X X X Mr. Seeley was of opinion, that it was with the help of Indians alone, that the British Empire was established. During the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the English took possession of India, and with the help of the Indians established an Empire which extended all over the world. Ah! Why should the order of the Creator be like this? Indians have been the root-cause of making England a small island, into the British Empire, and causing it to spread all the world over; and yet, indeed, the state of suffering slavery, and being subject to the English rule, has at last happened to them! Mr Seeley writes:- "It is untrue, that India came under the control of the British through the strength and the skill of the Englishmen. That India became a British realm was due to the want of a national feeling among the Indians, and not to the superiority of the English. Just as the Austrian Government in Italy came to an end on account of the birth of the spirit of nationality in that country, so the British rule in India cannot but come to an end, on the day when the spirit of nationality dawns among the Indians. If thirty three crores of people rebel against England, what can England do which, at all times, is not prepared for war. ? It is a downright falsehood to say, that just as we (the English) defeated the Indians formerly, we can conquer them (the Indians), even a second time. Such a belief is nothing else than a mad delusion. We did not defeat the Indians in a righteous war. I have already said, that of those who waged the war on the side of the British four-fifths were Indians. Had there been among Indians the spirit of nationality even as much as an atom, they would have made proper endeavours to drive them away from their country. Or their hearts would at least have felt it

a ~~degree~~ disgrace indeed, to give (lit. pur out) their country to foreigners. Of the soldiers who protected the forts of the English two-thirds were Indians. It is not necessary, that the sepoys should rebel against the Government. The very moment, Indians do not consent to join their army, the helplessness of the English will become public.

It will be known to the world, that they have not the ability to retain India. The English did not have any difficulties in their occupation of India.

Just in the same way as we defeated the Indians without the least trouble, we are governing (them) even to this day without even a particle of difficulty. It will not be possible for the English, to give crores of rupees or soldiers necessary to keep India in their own possession. It will be plain to us, that, from the very moment Indians are able to find out that they were defeated by us, it will become hard of attainment for us to keep that country under our rule." There is no need to write at length on the above sentences Do not the aforesaid sentences proclaim the true nature of the great movement of to-day? Is it not very clear as Mr. Seeley indicated, that the generality of the people have felt the truth to-day, as to how disgraceful it is to render help to the Englsih Government? Do not the Indians understand to-day, that dependence upon others is disgraceful, and that they are subject to such baseness? Yes. There are several auspicious indications visible of the dawn of a future fortune. Why did we not, therefore with a courageous mind guess, that soon will swaraj be accomplished for us without fail? Instead of giving a complete welcome to the tutelary diety, although the goddess of swaraj is standing at our door-way, why are we wasting out time devising empty falsehoods, that the British themselves are the chief-ememies to the ideal of swaraj? Sir ~~Josh~~ John Seeley made known amother important thing. He established the principle, "that the revolutions which took place in various countries indicate the fact, that only at the time when the people are of one mind and a steadfast heart, and are filled with enthusiasm, there will happen

radical changes in the Government, and that such changes are impossible at the time, when the common people are in a very low condition." Mr Seeley writes as follows on that subject:- "There is no need for India of a revolution which is filled with excitement and is full of despair. It is enough, if union exists among the Indians. How much more does our (the English) Government promote this social feeling than the former governments? If there should ever happen a revolution, born of despair, there is not even the least doubt that the Indian sepoys who are in superior numbers in our army, will take part in such a movement. Without the help of the sepoys (the task of) our Government can never be accomplished. The moment when another movement (like the Great Indian Mutiny of 1857), which is filled with the spirit of nationality and has the approval of all the people is begun, that very same moment, we may completely abandon the hope, that our kingdom will remain in our hands. This is not all. The British Empire, which has spread (like a creeper) all over the world, will come to an end the very next day. It is because we did not really conquer India. We cannot accomplish (the task of) our Government with the spirit of arrogance, that we have conquered the country. There is no need to consider, whether it is possible or impossible to govern in that manner. We can never give the money which is necessary for such an endeavour."

Every Indian should clearly understand the two things indicated above. We can know from the aforesaid sentences, that, to obtain complete independence, India has no need to adopt the path of violence. If the spirit of Indian nationality dawns in the hearts of all, complete independence will come to hand without fail.

It is an auspicious sign that, at this time, a great man like Mahatma Gandhi should have been born in the midst of Indians, and has assumed the leadership for the war of independence.

<u>The speedy necessity for India's complete independence.-2.</u>

From what I have understood of the essence of these principles laid down by Sir John Seeley, it has become clear to me that it is very difficult of attainment to avert the disgrace caused by dependence upon others.

This is the first principle of Sir John Seeley:- "The chief reason for the decline of a country under foreign control, is nothing else than the remaining under foreign rule for much (a long) time."

Mark well every word in the above sentence. Foreign Government cannot itself be the cause for the state of decline. The decline of a country will not happen, unless it remains under foreign control for a long time. In accordance with the principle of Mr Seeley, the decline of India is increasing; every year it remains under the control of the British. How longer yet should mother-India remain in dependence upon others? We should well pay attention to this historical principle. Depending upon foreigners, if our country should yet remain, in future, in the British Empire, it would be reduced to a very low condition. We should therefore quickly wake up, and labour for a freelife. Writing about the second principle of Sir John Seeley he says: "As we (the English) have been ruling the Indians, the preeminent qualities required for managing swaraj have perished (lit. touched the bottom) among the Indians. If the British should there fore set free from their(the British) rule, the Indians who are dependent upon others and are subject to a foreign Government they would commit a sinful act. This is not all. If they are thus liberated, a mighty calamity which we are now unable to imagine cannot but happen." Sir John Seeley has compared the British Government in India to the Roman rule in Britain. He thinks, that Indians have not the strength, the tact, etc, required to protect their country from falling to the share of aliens, and to manage swaraj, and that for the same reason, the Englsih will be committing a very sinful act, if they give up India and go away.

"Of all the countries in the world, it is India alone which does not possess the ability to create and carry on a permanent Government. All the skill which had existed among the Indians for the creation of a Government, before they became subject to the rule of the British, has completely perished (lit. touched the bottom) under British administration. "So wrote Mr Seeley in another place.

Ah! An English historian had indeed to write such sentences as these about the dawn of the future fortune of India! What evils befell India, and what intricacies are to overtake her! Does he think, that India can never escape a permanent alien rule and foreign dependence?

If henceforth India remains subject to the foreign rule, she will be reduced to an extremely low condition. If the alien rule is instantly got out of the way, Indians will become a prey to a miserable state.

All our desires will bear fruit if, by the grace of God, there becomes incarnate a great being, who can stir up such inspiration, as to make every Indian from the Himalayas to Cape Commorin repeat the magicspell of complete independence alone. On the day when a virtuous person rises among us, who can cause the love of liberty to be born among the generality of the people, that very day all our desires will be accomplished.

If the British Government is carried on in India asa arbitraril in the future also, as it is carried on at present, the miserable condition of the country will go on increasing with the alien rule and foreign dependence, as is pointed out by history. What reply can the moderates give to the contentions of Sir John Seeley? They think, that the new reforms have brought us responsibility! This is an empty dream! This is a mad and groundless delusion! Though, according to the contention of the moderates, we admit that responsibility has been given to us, these reforms have become the root-cause of the wretched condition of the Indians. They have not blotted out the dependence of the country. There cannot be found any other remedy (lit. treatment) for foreign dependence, than the acquisition of independence. Can the alms of swaraj which, as the Government feel inclined, they dole out now and then to the Indians, give the happiness of independence, which is born of the soul, and which contains the soul?

Reasoning in this wise, withing myself and freeling myself of all doubts., I obtained complete faith, as to the extreme necessity

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of entire independence for the Indians.

Irealised that, for the awakening of Indian nationalism, a great being should become incarnate. Mahatma Gandhi is such a great and all-holy man, It is his belief, that there is nothing which cannot be accomplished by soul-force. The way, such a great man is showing, alone deserves to be followed. I have the firm belief, that, in the very end, only by such a path can India accrue independence.

<u>The speedy necessity for India's complete independence-3.</u> —

What Sir John Seeley has said is nothing else than truth. "A country dependent on others will have a decline without fail. The root cause of such a decline is nothing else than remaining under foreign rule for a long (lit. much) time." All Indians should fix this sentence in their hearts. Unless we fully realise the disgrace contained in this sentence, our miserable condtion cannot be done away with. My friend, Mr Ramananda Chatterjee, who has rendered me immense help in these solitary discussions, has well spoken this truth. "National fervidness will not be born, unless a sense of disgrace, and a feeling of helplessness are engendered among all the people.

"The similar disgrace which can make all classes and sects into one, is nothing else than the alien rule, and the plunder of the foreign traders.

"Though there may be among ourselves ever so many difficulties, and harsh acts, and bad practices, such as partiality, the wretched plight of a foreign rule is a disgrace equally to all of us."

It is very insufferable, that (India) should be submitted to England, a small island situated at a distance of about seven thousand miles, and be in their (the British) subjection for a hundred and twenty years, from 'Plassy' till this day. According to the principle of Mr. Seeley such dependence on foreigners as this, cannot but plunge the country into an extremely low state. Complete independence is for this very reason extremely necessary. From Mr Seeley's principle we understand, that at such a juncture as this,

~~From-Mr Seeley's principle we-understand, that at-such-a-juncture-~~ as this, when we are considering as to what we should do in ever so many other matters, we should not defer to another time the agitation for independence.

God knows that the wretched state which has happened to the nation till this day is enough. God knows that the foreign rule should be pushed aside before the limit is exceeded. It cannot be a manly virtue to quietly spend the time without blotting out this poisonous disease of (which has affected) the life of the nation. It is needless to state separately, that every Indian who understands what Mr Seeley has said that, as our dependence on the foreign rule has exceeded the limit, swaraj is impossible, and that in such a condition it will be a sinful act on the part of the British to leave us and go) should in an instant awake and labour for speedy independence. Mr Seeley has in one place said thus: "If the British liberate the Indians from their sovereignty, they will be committing an awful sin." Again Mr. Seeley wrote thus in regard to the question, as to how it is a sin to stop the foreign rule. " (the English) have subjected the Indians to a profoundly distressful and wretched condition. The capacity to manage (the affairs of) swaraj has perished (lit. touched the bottom) in them. As they have been under our control for a long time, such intricacies as these have befallen them. The ability to carry on swaraj which the Indians had possessed from time immemorial, met with destruction through our (the English) rule alone. The root-cause for the destruction of such an inherent power is nothing else than our (the English) Government.

I am emphatically saying that aforesaid fact many times, to cause to be implanted in the heart of every Indian, the (sense of) disgrace, and a feeling of helplessness, which we have, by reason of our being subject to such a Government, instead of blotting out the foreign rule with the strength of the spirit of association in us.

We should fix in our hearts the two expressions frequently employed by Mr. Seeley, namely, the wretched state of the Indian nation, and the want of ability to save the kingdom. We should

forget these two. As time goes on, the helplessness of the Indians is increasing. This is just the gain we have from the present Government. The strength, the ability etc, needed to save the land of our birth from the inroad of the foreigners, are declining (lit.sinking) day by day, and are at last to become invisible. As time passes away our subjection is increasing a thousand fold. The time is coming, when it will not be possible (for us) to remain even under the control of any other, than under the subjection of the British.

Though progress is perceptible to the eye in ever so many other matters, yet in one respect alone, India is as it was in a former time. Ever since the day Mr seeley noticed the absence in us of the strength, the ability, etc required to save the country from falling to the share of others, and gave expression to it, and from the time national fervidness was born in 1907 till this day, such strength has not accrued to us. It should be evident to any impartial historian, that Indian nationalism is declining, instead of having improvement. The expenses necessary for those in the British army are brought to bear on the shoulders of the cultivators, who are subject to many a hardship, and who are plagued by poverty. There is not any kind of doubt, that the lot of the cultivator has become very insufferable. The one fact alone, that as much as one half of the incometax of our country, which is filled with poverty, is poured out for the maintenance of the army, indicates, that the miserable condition of India is very great.

The moderates are without the deep reflection and the shrewed insight needed, to consider the way of escape from the vicious (lit.poisonous circle mentioned by Mr Seeley. Heroic (lit. demoniacal) remedy and not a kitchen cure will be of use for the most dreadful diseases. As time passes away, foreign dependence will continue to increase. This alone is the main essence of the contention of Mr Seeley. If there is even a particle of truth in the words spoken by him, we must not hereafter be dependent upon others even for a minute. If we should be earning the alms of swaraj, little by little, now

and then, the capacity to manage (the affairs) of Swaraj would without fail perish (lit. touch the bottom) in us, before complete self-government might come to hand. At the present time, the protection of our country is difficult of attainment without the help of the English.

As the time goes on, the protection of our own country cannot but become the more hazardous. The disease has become internal, and is acting without being perceived by the spectator. I have found out by experience, that there is not even an atom of truth in the contention of the moderates. It is difficult for us to attain independence along the path of moderation. Independence is self-born. An independent life will not be acquired by any one through gift. Therefore the way tried by the moderates is not the right one. The possession of India can never come to us from without, by gift, or charity, or by means of the high sounding words of proclamations.

The swaraj clamour (lit.tumult) "O! Indians live like all-independent beings!" , is echoing in the four directions. When the great man Gandhi made known the magic-spell of independence to the delight of the hearts of all the people, and revivified the nationalism, which had remained motionless like a pillar, the enthusiasm I had was boundless. All the bonds of servitude, which had bound down India, broke in but a minute. The search for independence bore fruit. The path of independence became a feast to the eyes of all men.

The speedy necessity for India's complete independence:- 4.

Ever since I set my foot in India, I have fully believed, that the path of violence is not worthy of our approbation, and that, as was said by Jesus Christ, it is excellent, that we should look upon even our enemies with a friendly feeling. X X X I have resolved at last, that the path of violence is not fit to be followed in any condition of things, and that for that reason even when my mother-country, England, is occupied by strangers, no attempt should be made to stop the violence of the aliens with our violence. This very resolution of the mind is the chief principle of my life.

It is known to all men that, if, in the search for independence a movement should dawn, in which brute-force is employed, I would not consent to such a movement. From a thorough investigation into the historical subjects in the works written by impartial, men, like Mr Seeley, I have found out, that a movement full of brute-force is not at all necessary for the acquisition of India's freedom. Our country had not been defeated in a righteous war by the strength of the aliens, and became subject to them. It was only with the strength of the Indian sepoys, who had fought on the side of the aliens, that our mother country fell to the share of strangers. I have therefore the belief, that the foreign rule will come to an end by (our) averting the helplessness, for which cause dependence on foreigners has befallen us, and also by self-purification. For this, strength of mind alone is wanted.

The feeling that all of us are of one nation must soon dawn in us. Another Englishman has said," It is enough if the Indians refrain from rendering their help to the white-faced. If they do so, the Empire of the white-faced will become invisible in a minute."

This is the last instruction given to us by the English historian. There is no need to lift up our hand, and beat the aliens. We can turn them to our way by our very numerical superiority. Where are thirty three crores of people, and where a few thousands! They who are small in numbers should without fail accept, and walk according to the words of us, who are great in numbers.

There is no doubt, that in this manner we can acquire independence. The histories of the various countries indicate the fact, that the employment of brute-force cannot but be fruitless. This is not all. Mahatma Gandhi has made known to us, that the employment of brute-force is opposed to the Sastras, and is hostile to the sense of the eminence of man.

Violence can never be serviceable. The question which now stands over is only one-whether independence is necessary for us or no. This question alone remains.

How can such a mental change (lit. the act of going round anything)

as this happen among all the Indians? How are the Indians to be turned from foreign dependence to responsibility, and from foreign rule to self-government? How can we do away with the fear of x "the English, the English", which exists even to-day among the generality of the people? While the foreigners have established their kingdom in their country, how can we make the feeling, that it is a disgrace to render help to their Government, rush into the recesses of the hearts of even the villagers, who are in every respect like brutes (who are ignorant)?

From the very beginning, I have not rejoiced at the promise, full of high-sounding words, made known by the Parliament in the month of August of the year 1917. The fixing of time alone is the principal thing for the gift of independence. I have not approved of this promise, which contains the idea, that they alone possess such an authority. It was all the more abhorant to me, for this promise was pregnant with the intention, that (India) should remain within the British Empire. As was stated by the President of the Congress, which met at Nagpur, "this act (the English alone assuming the power to fix the measure of time for the grant of swaraj), publishes the fact, that the authority which they have over India is arbitrary, that there should not be any obstacles to it, that such an authority is a thing done by God, and that therefore changes of any kind should not be effected in the exercise of such an authority." For the above reason, I think, that it will not happen, that Indian independence can accrue in a limited measure.

None will take account of the mad statement, that to India also was given the power of word equally with the Colonies at the British Imperial Conference. None will be deceived by such a fraud as this in (broad) day-light. I shall give you an example to indicate the wretched state, which has befallen us by such frauds as these. X X X Besides this, wherefore should we unwillingly remain (lit. stand) hereafter, as a dependency in the British Empire, which has placed the Indians in Colonies like Australia, and South Africa within the British Empire in a disgraceful condition, and regards them as

as the Malas (the Adi-Andhras or the Adi-Dravidas) and the Madigas (the chucklers).

My doubt has not been removed, however many the August pledges, the reformed councils, the Imperial Conferences, and the ordinances of the Esher and the Lovatt Committees may exist. All these appear to me to be great attempts made to bind yet more tightly the bonds of our dependence on the British, instead of breaking them off. In fact, all these clearly appear to me, to be only for increasing the dependence of India and not for independence. Give up the thought, that independence can ever come to hand to us, through the reformed councils, the proclamations, the unfulfilled promises, and by way of a limited measure. Give up!

The responsibility thus given cannot permanently stand. As soon as it is built, it will sink to the ground.

Let us abandon this uncertain way, and search for the path pointed out by Mahatma Gandhi. He has understood what the disease is, and has grasped the root-principles for removing that disease. He has given up the ineffective (lit.insipid) cure, and, in the style of a surgeon (lit. boil-doctor), is trying to cut off the root of the disease. The removal of the disease has been taking place, in proportion to the lancet of this person rushing into the wound. Self-dependence, the love of independence, and the quality of being a man--all these were diseased, and are now alone becoming alive. The words of Mr Seeley are this day becoming true. Indians are this day aware of the fact, that it is " a disgrace to render help to the alien rule". Such men as can inspire all the people of a country are rare in the world. Among all such persons great men like Mahatma Gandhi are extremely rare.

With such a soul-force as this, we can escape from the misery of the alien rule. We can make mother-India have a life of all-complete independence. I salute the Mother!

<u>The wretched condition of the Indians.</u>

<u>The necessity for entire independence, -- 5.</u>

<u>The wretched and insufferable condition.</u>

You must now make an affirmation, whether it is prosperous for the Indians to remain in the British Empire, or whether it is fitting for them to leave the English Empire, go and be entirely independent. To settle the above problem, it is extremely necessary to investigate into the circumstances of the Indians in the British colonies."

If the Indians are not treated kindly in the English Empire, but are looked upon as mere slaves, and are experiencing a mean condition (of life), it is excellent, that they should leave the English Empire and go. It is becoming evident that, if the English becoming far from morality, and without the fear of sin even as much as a mustard seed, and are quite prepared for any loathsome acts, and, if they, forgetting the fact that the Indians also are Englsih subjects like themselves, continue to torment, despise and treat them lightly, it is a sinful act on the part of the Indians to become independent, and remain even for one minute within the Englsih Empire. If without caring for their baseness, and hearing the words of the advocates of English Imperialism, Indians consent to remain within the Empire, doubtless, they will, as time goes on, be subject to an extremely low condition.

Will any Englishman consent to live in the Colonies, in a condition such as that in which the Indians, subjects this day to, what intricacies and suffering, what hardships, unseen and unheard of, and are due to the clash with the agricultural and the trading associations in the British Colonies? If in any Empire Englishmen are being scorned and looked upon lightly, they will not consent even as much as an atom to remain in such an Empire. If we consider, according to the aforesaid Christian principles, no Englishman who is a Christian must agree to the Indians pining away in such a mean condition (of life), as he will not himself consent to remain in. He should not be the root cause of such a low state as this. Without being so, if any Englishman who is a Christian enjoys complete independence himself, and crushing the Indians, makes them dependent upon others, he has scorned the principles of Christianity.

The outcastes (lit. The Malas and the Madigas) of the Empire.

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When East Africa had been a region untenanted by man, it was the Indians that first immigrated there, and arranged homes for themselves.

Neverthless, they are looked upon to-day as the depressed classes. The idea has excessively grown, that touching the Indians is catching the contagion of small-pox. An Indian should not get upon and go for a drive in a rickshaw in which an Englishman drives. Indians should not make a journey in the railway carriages, in which English men ordinarily travel. An Indian should not go to either the railway stations, or the coffee hotels, if there are Englishmen in those places. If Englishmen are to take rest in the rest houses (retiring rooms) in the railway stations, Indians will not be allowed even to go near those houses. Thinking perhaps that the laws now in execution are not enough, they have at last newly brought a law into force. Accoridng to that (law), Indians should not reside on the outskirts of the dwelling places of the English. Even though Indians may have their own big buildings in that place, they should not inhabit there. It is not merely the people of Africa, that consent to do such sinful acts. Even Lord Milner, the Secretary to the Government, is lending his hand to such an inhuman deed. Lord Milner has sent a report to the Government telling them, that Indians should not roam about, not only in the dwelling places of the English, but even (lit. in the end) in the places of trade also. This strange Act has not only met with respect from the Government of East Africa, but the people of the remaining British Colonies, also are about to follow them. All the Governors of the Colonies are about to follow just the method adopted by the East African Government. If such a state of things happens, the hostility of the white-faced will increase. Then, not only will unrest grow among the generality of the people, but inter-national disputes also will increase. Even from England, Lord Milner has given out his opinion, that the Indians should be kept apart (lit.at an interval). Such is the miserable condition of the Indian people in the Colonies.

<u>It is a shame to be kept apart.</u>

It is my firm opinion, that as was said by the Indians, it is

certainly a disgrace to so keep them apart. As I was in those place for some days, and marked well the circumstances there, I can say that it is unjust and improper. It is not possible to speak of the amount of indignity (humiliation) resulting there from! It is very grievous to my mind, that the Englishmen, who are of my nation have set themselves to commit such sinful deeds as these. The fact, that the very men who belong to my nation (lit progeny) torment those of another nation like this is kindling rage in me.

Mahatma Gandhi has said, that there is not any kind of doubt, that the Indians who are experiencing such a base condition are the Malas (the Adi-Andhras or the Adi-Dravidas) and the Madigas (the chucklers) dwelling in the Empire! To speak of them as the Malas and the Madigas gives (us) a complete idea. Certainly they do belong to the depressed classes. I shall indicate what is above by means of an example. I was awaiting the arrival of the train to go from the Johanesburg station to the Durban station. A little after the train had come and stopped, Ramadas, the son of Mr Gandhi, came into the carriage in order to put my luggage in my carriage. At that juncture, an English boy who was in the carriage (and who was going back to school after the holidays and had passed) was about to stike Ramadas. If I had not then come in the way, that boy would have beaten Ramadas. After some minutes had passed, another Englishman came and got himself ready to thrash Ramadas. He called Ramadas loudly in harsh words, and asking him to go away, showed violence. All this happened within a period of thirty minutes. Had I not been there at the time, those two Englishmen would have unjustly punished Ramadas. O, Indians! Perceive your humiliating condition. The son of Mahatma Gandhi is said to be an untouchable! He is said to belong to the depressed class! It is said, that, by merely setting his foot in the railway carriage, the whole carriage became infected with pollution! Ah! Are the Indians to be under the English rule, and to be subject to such a disgrace as this at the hands of the English!

<u>Independence will come to us.</u>

I know, that there are some Englishmen who govern the Indians

as their equals, but the number of such men is trifling. The ill-luck of the Indians has not in the least become less. Consider well what I am going to say to remove this. Wherefore should we remain (lit. stand) in the British Empire, in whose colonies Indians are regarded as mere brutish men and as slaves; and in which the white-faced despise, beat and drive us, and take our lives. Why should we remain in an Empire, by living in which such an insufferable condition as this has befallen us? How will the English have the mouth to ask (lit. desire) the Indians to be in such an Empire? Why should not the Indians, who are regarded as those who do bodily labour, say that they will not remain (lit. stand) in such an Empire? Why should we not distinctly tell them, "If such should be the advantage which have happened to us by being in the Empire, we do not want such an Empire. We will separate ourselves from it, and go. It is very well, even if the Empire of the British, which, saying that we are equals, has subjected us to such a wretched plight, comes to an end. We will no more be deceived." All those who have self-respect, and all those who have a wise insight, are saying this day in the following manner:-

"We will not wish to be dependents. We will be independent. We do not like to be in any kind of Empire. We will not lose our individuality. We are perfectly ready to acquire a complete knowledge of the soul, and increase the life of the soul. At one time we agreed to be subject to the Government of the westerners. For some time we had been of help to their rule. Destined to suffer the fruit of a former birth, we remained under their subjection. We cannot indeed without fail suffer for the sins of a former birth! Besides we have acquired a new knowledge. We have found out some errors in the (our) old ways, and are endeavouring to tread on a good path. For the above reason we were not for sometime perfectly ready for complete independence. We therefore yielded to other men. We endured the attack of another. But we will not henceforth like to be the dependents of the aliens. We will not endure hereafter, the disgrace even for a single minute. We will regain (?) the self-respect and the self-esteem which we have lost. We will obtain complete

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independence. We will spend a life of freedom. We shall be lords (rulers) of ourselves. It is difficult of attainment for any men in the world, however strong, to keep thirty two crores of people in subjection to the aliens. I salute the mother (India)".

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EXTRACTS FROM/TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS "SAHAYANIRAKARANAMU".

G.O.No.844, Public Department, dt.21-10-1922.

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A Telugu pamphlet 'Sahayanirakaranamu' (non-cooperation) written by Vennelakanti Raghavayya the Secretary of the District Congress Committee Nellore was printed in the Krishna Swadesi Press at Masulipatam and was published by the Congress Committee of Koruturu in the year 1922. It begins with an account of the conquest of India by the Mahammadans and of the progress made by the country under their regime in trade, arts industries and other directions. After stating that the British entered India at a time when mutual dissentions had developed between the Hindus and Mohammadans and established their Raj in the country by encouraging such differences and siding one community against the other, the author speaks of the advantages of the British Government such as the Railways, the post and the telegraph only to belittle their importance: for he says that they serve as much for the benefit of the Government as for that of the people.

Then the evils of the British administration have been dwelt upon in very strong language. 1. 'That the people of our country should become poor for food day by day is the first trouble. From the time the English Government Commenced, till the year 1900 twenty two great famines arose for us and wiped out the people by lakhs. Even if our country is abundantly fertile and people hard-working, poverty envelops! Why? Owing to the fact that the authorities are of a foreign country and because of high salaries of the white Officials about fifty six crores of Rupees are reaching England every year!

2. That we are becoming cowards because of the prohibition of arms as soon as the British set foot on India.

3. All Offices in the country with high salaries are for the whites above. Natives however intelligent are ordained to be satisfied with low salaries.

The whites, ill-treat ~~ment~~ our country men in foreign lands i.e. Natal, Fiji. East Africa and Australia. Alas! How many days more should we live thus destroying our respectability?

4. The number of taxes levied increases from day to day and the method of collection became cruel and inhuman. All complaints are grossly neglected and the complainants punished.

5. In March 1919 the Government passed the most unjust Act i.e. Rowlatt Act by which all persons reviewing or criticising the actions of the Government are punishable without trial. The indiscriminate and inhuman firing of the innocent people gathered in Jalianwala Bagh by General Dyer and his troops and the many ill-treatments accompanying them, speaks to what disgrace the people of India are put to. Added to this the Government of India fixed for Dyer a pension at the rate of Rs.13500/- a year!. Shame! Shame!

6. Khilafat injustice: On the promise of Lloyd George that justice would be done to the Turkey Sultan, Mohammadans helped the British in the war. The English had unjustly separated the countries of Thrace and Smyrna and the town Adrianople was given to their friend king of Greece. The Sultan lost his authority over the water-way of the Dardennells and the countries of Armenia and Arabia. The English had kept Asia Miner, Palestine and Mesopotania under their protection and took possession of the valuable kerosine wells there. The Sultan has ~~Government~~ lost his fame and name and wealth.

It becomes clear that our condition is becoming worse from day to day. The punjab murders and the Khilafat injustice are unforgettable and unforgivable. Swaraj alone is the way for the removal of these troubles. Under Swaraj nothing can be done by Government without the opinion of the public. There will not be the unrestrained and arbitrary power of the whites.

There are two ways to win Swaraj. One is by killing the servants of Government Publicly or secretly and thus putting a stop to the machinery. This is violent and cruel. The other is the way of non-cooperation. No help of any kind should be offered to the Government. By helping the Government people share in the injustices and sins that accrue from them unconciously. To avoid sin, people should not help the Government unless it is for the people and by the people in so much as it takes their opinions before carrying

them into activities. By the method of non-cooperation we are adopting the path taught by prahlada thousands of years ago.

By abandoning the learning of English, our children will know more about Tilak and Gandhi and less about Robert Clive and Warren Hastings. For this schools should be started without the aid of Government Grants. Secondly we should avoid going to the nominated councillors. Thirdly we should avoid Courts for settling our disputes The relinquishment of the titles and the honorary Offices conferred by the Government is the fourth task. The boycott of the foreign articles is the fifth task. This is ~~is~~ desirable and profitable in the interests of our own weavers.

By practising these, dependence on others for everything will dwindle away and reliance on self-power will dawn. Regard for the nation will increase.

Brothers! we have mentioned all the calamities which have be-fallen our mother country. We have made clear the ways ordered by the great congress Committee to escape from them. What remains now (to be done) is only to pray to you to strive to practice so as to make them get into your minds. Alas! To what condition has the mother India come this day! Look at the eyes of Her who has pined away from a series of afflictions, and has become devoid of brightness, observe her face which at one time had overflowed with daring and volour and spread the lustre of her glory alround (litt in the four directions) how she has bent it down through the very burden of shame, grieving at the disgrace which has be fallen her! Behold the sharp sword dreadful to the enemies and which at one time ~~adorned her~~adorned her hands, how it is lying down, its brilliancy spoiled, rusted and afraid of the Arms Act! You gems of Indian women! will not the hair of her head which is knotted, tangled and lying dislevelled all over the body awaken fear and create pityin you! If so, why do you not stimulate your man (to action?) Will not the lips of the mother which are trembling exceedingly, unable to restrain the sorrow which comes bubbling up and is transgressing the bounds, melt your minds ! If so why do you not abandon the places...

This is the time for action! The opportunitys comes only once. If we left this slip by, We should indeed be rotting for all time in the abominable profession of slavery. If we utilise the opportunit[y] we win the Swaraj!

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EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

'Sangha Samasya*Anu Samskarini'. (The social problem or the reformer). written by Damaraju Pundarikatchidu.

G.O.No; 942, dt.15th November, 1922. Public Department. 257

The book throws light on the problems both internal and External of Indians in the context of the world affairs. It is in the form of a dialogue and starts by referring to the contempt with which the white men look upon all Hindus. 'The white men look upon all the Hindus as base slaves and get them do menial service for them. The decay of Hindu religion is then described and at page 79 God Brahma declares that he becomes incarnate as Narasimha and in similar forms cause destruction of the wicked whenever sin accumulates in the world.

There is then a dialogue about the lot of Indians in South Africa. 'Lo'. There Indians are helplessly suffering through ignorance, want of food for the stomach, house to dwell in and cloth for (to protect) modesty and from the absence of protection. . . . .O! Brothers! We have been thus weeping aloud saying "Alas! Alas!" And have been suffering helplessly. Sweating we have to do cooly work. We cannot open our mouths and speak counter to the commands of the one who is in authority saying," What is this and what is that?" Alas! They look upon us Hindus as very mean saying 'Black Men' 'Negro Folks' low fellows', the slaves of dorais (Europeans) and 'these are one of the forest tribes!"

A full page contains a melancholy description of the evils of prostitution and the miserable life led by the dancing girls. Then follows the denunciation of drink. . . . . 'O Country men! O,Hindu and Mohammadan Brothers! Do not the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi which with divine radiance, have risen and are flourishing like the early morning Sun, implant themselves in your ears? ~~Home~~ Have you no fear of Sin? Do you not wish for the improvement of your society? Can you not give up this trifling evil custom? Will you not maintain the name and fame of your race, Your religion and your country? If you intend to do ~~eld~~ all these, take a strong oath at once that you will not think of drink. . . . (Looking at Kotayya) Sir, you have forgotton even the afflictions of you wife

and children and falling a prey to this drink, are wasting hard earned money! Alas! Drink makes the house a shell; sweeps away all the wealth; kills all the strength in the body; pulls down the mind with great disgust, blasts all fame; and does not let ~~help~~ happiness and peace remain. Quickly abandon the nauseating drink of toddy, whisky etc.,

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Proscribed literature English from 1922 259

XIII. Extracts from Proscribed English Books and Pamphlet by the Madras Government.

— 513 —

Extract from the "Advance guard".
(Date of Proscription 8th November--Year 1922--G.O.No.917-Mis.Pub)

Extracts from the "Advance Guard" Volume I, No.1, d/ 1st October, 1922.

CRISIS IN THE NEAR EAST.

x x x x

The only possible way in which recruiting can be seriously obstructed will be by the declaration of Mass Civil Disobedience with the slogan of "non-payment of rents and taxes". The movement should be inaugurated all over the country, specially in those provinces where the peasantry is already in a state of rebellion. The consequences of such a move will oblige the government to come down upon the revolting peasantry with the machinery of repression, which will alienate the masses altogether from the Government. It should not be forgotten that it is from the peasantry of the country that the soldiers are recruited. So if the peasantry is involved in an active struggle in which the Govennment is sure to be against them, the chances of getting recruits will be seriously prejudiced. If what broke out in Rai Berelli, Gorukhpur, Chauri Chaura, Malabar, Guntur, Bombay, Madras and what has been going on in the Punjab at the present moment, spreads all over the country, the Government will not dare to deplete the military forces in the country. Thus the Indian Government will be altogether incapacitated to utilize the resources of India for suppressing the nationalist movement in Turkey. A general strike on the railways will complete the situation, and India will be in a state of REVOLUTION far greater than Great Britain involved in a war can cope with

x x x x

Let the revolutionary elements in the Indian movement surge forward and wrest the leadership of the movement from the faltering hands of those who have showed their timidity and incapability more than once.

x x x x

WANTED A NEW PARTY.

x x x x

The capitalist upper class is decidedly hostile to a revolutionary awakening of the working class, and the middle class is too timid, too hesitating to actively court such an awakening. The action of the Congress in the last year has shown it. Therefore what is wanted at the present crisis is a political party of the masses based on the principle of class interest and with a programme advocating mass-action for carrying forward the struggle for national liberation.

x x x x

INDIA AND THE WORLD.

x x x x

Mr. Horniman is wrong in stating that our worthy contemporary "HIND" is the only Indian organ in the outer world. We are also a living link between the forces of World Revolution and the struggling Indian masses.

x x x x

PRESS REVIEW.

x x x x

This is the time of action. The desire for freedom is awakened. How to realize the desire is the problem to be solved. We trust our new contemporary will play a prominent part in solving this problem, by using its exceptional figt fig f gift of literary ability to point out new roads to the revolutionary forces groping in the dark.

x x x x

Selections from G.O.s relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat movement (1920-22)
Proscribed Literature :: Urdu book (1922

C EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

11. G.O.No.926 dated 10-11-1922, Public.

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"Faryad-i-Hind Part I" etc.

Report on an Urdu pamphlet entitled "Faryad-i-Hind-Hissa Awwal " (The Lamentation of India, Part I) printed at the Faruqi press and published by Factory Ilahi, Saharanpur.

The poem opens with the statement that Europeans obtained a small plot of land (in India) by deceiving us and then caused a drain on the wealth of this country. The poet deplores the cowardice of the Indians and calls titles "collars of curses." Next he refers to the oppression practised in the Jallianwala Bagh, Smyrna, Medina, etc., and urges the Muhammadans to expel the enemy from India and establish a republican Government (here). thereby carrying out the injuctions of the Khilafat. A translation of the more noticeable verses is as follows:--

" AT first they addressed us in endearing terms,
" And then carried away our all.

"They made brother fight with brother,
" And then appeared (on the scene) the to settle their disputes.

"
" European firms drained away all the wealth of India.
"Alas! What a time has come! All Indians have become effeminate.
"Thus the enemy filled his pockets,
"But we did not open our eyes.

"He (the enemy) set fire to the Punjab,
"Fired shots in the Jallianwala Bagh.
"The troops (concerned) felt not the least shame
"(And) forgot their love of country.
"All, whether children, old or young, men or women,
"Were killed (lit. turned into statues).
"Then the trouble and humiliation of crawling on bellies was ordered, "But you did not feel ashamed,
"Nor did your hearts harbour any sentiments of resentment.
"
"O Indians, you did not feel shame.
"Why have you changed into women from men?
"You have tarnished the honour of your forefathers,
"Why have you effaced the honour of India?
"How shall you worship God, if you obey infidels?
"Such oppressions were practised in Smyrna.

"Alas! The suckling babe
"Was snatched from the lap of his mother
"And kicked like a foot-ball.
"The Child's father was chained to the cot

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"And the mother was thrown down on the same cot.
"Alas! In the presence of her husband
"Great atrocities were committed upon her.
"Alas! She was stripped naked.

" They were beaten so cruelly
" That the heart breaks to pieces on hearing(the accoun
"What can we do? We are helpless (
"(And) can receive no help except from God.
"Hundreds of houses were burnt to ashes by the tyrants
"They burnt innocent children and
"Threw bombs on houses.
"They used daggers to their heart's content
"At the place which is sacred.

"They threw bombs on the House of God,
"Burnt the curtains of the Ka'aba,
"Threw bombs on houses.
"Made rivers flow with the blood of Muhammadans,
"Demolished thousands of royal palaces
"(And) shed so much blood in Medina (as to suggest)
"That they were determined to extirpate religion.
"The Ottoman Empire was effaced.
" The Sultan was made a prisoner;
"The tyrant had no fear.
"Even death did not swallow him up.
"Innocent people were hanged
"(And) thus was the blood of Islam shed.
"(The Ali Brothers, Kitchlew, etc.) were shamelessly
sent to the jail by the tyrants.

"You should sincerely obey the command of the Khilafat,
"So that you may be forgiven on the day of Judgement.
"The order of the Khilafat for you, its dear ones, is

" That you should not lose courage.

" You are the lights of Islam;
"Life is now in danger.

"All should wear khaddar,
"So as to ruin Europe, kill the enemy,
"Expel the enemy from here and save your Khilafat.

"Rescue your sinking barge.
"The world will be with you.
"Now you should establish (lit.work) a Republican
Government.

"And not listen to the excuses of the enemy,
"Nor be tricked by his tactics.
"O God! Remove our difficulties.
"We are Thy subjects and Thou art our King.
"Thy creatures are in great trouble.
"O God! Come to our rescue.

"The poet's prayer is

"That a Republican Government may arrive
"And you (Muhammadans) may beat its drum with pleasure,
"xxx xxx So that Islam may be saved."

Review of the pamphlet in Urdu entitled Azadi-e-Hind Swaraj-ki-Devi, published by HADI HASAN and printed by ABDUL RASHID at the Shamas Printing Press, Moradabad.

THIS is a pamphlet of 8 pages. The title page has a female picture which represents Swaraj-ki-Devi (Swaraj goddess) and a couplet which means "now hand over the murderer of the Punjab to us at once. We shall sacrifice him at the altar of the goddess of swaraj."

The pamphlet contains three poems. The first exhorts the men and women of India to spin and weave and dwells upon the utility, importance and the effectiveness of charkha in the movement for swaraj. The translation of important lines is given below:--

(1) The spinning wheel has shown forth in the world as a death-star of Europe-specially in India.

(2) If you want to take part in your national emancipation, then make your wives spin charkha in your homes.

(3) The spinning wheel is doing that work in India which could never have been accomplished by guns and machine guns.

(4) The spinning wheel is wounding the heart of the people of Manchester. The spinning wheel is quite proficient in its bows and arrows.

Poem no.II.--Seems to be very objectionable. Its heading is "We shall take swaraj by going to susral (father in-law's house.)" The author calls these jails as susral. byxgoingxtoxsusralx(father A translation of important lines of this poem is given below:--

(1) We shall form ourselves into national parties and shall win swaraj by going to sasural (father-in-law's house).

(2) We are not afraid of jails. We want only to gain our object.

(3) We go to jails quite cheerfully. We shall win swaraj by going to sasural.

(4) We shall win swaraj by going to sasural and by blowing trumpets over the head of our enemy.

(5) We are now going (to jails), help us. O black, listen to the cries of your black brothers.

(6) We shall rest only ~~after~~ wiping away the whites. We shall win swaraj after going to sasural.

(7) We shall drive away the enemies from India. We shall win swaraj after going to sasural.

(8) The enemies have pointed out their guns towards us. They have taken our bags of wealth from us by force.

(9) and (10) We shall cut off all our friendly relations with the tyrant who has usurped our sovereignty and who has disgraced us so much.

(11) and (12) We shall carry out the orders of our brave leaders like Muhammad Ali, Kitchlu, Shaukat Ali, etc., with our heart and soul. We shall win swaraj by going to sasural.

(13) Throw away all that is bideshi (foreign). Break away all those things whatever they may be.

(14) We shall manufacture everything in our country. We shall win swaraj by going to jail.

(15) Give up the service of the tyrants. Give up serving the Police and Military.

(16) We shall save you from this slavery. We shall win Swaraj by going to sasural.

(17) You should not feel sorry in the least on our account. You must die cheerfully for the sake of your nation.

(18) We shall sink the fleet of our enemies and win swaraj by going to sasural.

Poem no.III.--In this poem and Indian woman is is rousing her sinful husband to action. She entreats him to shake off all lethargy and to gird up his loins to free India from the miseries and troubles which it has suffered under the present Government. A translation of important lines is given below:--

(The wife says to her husband.)

(1) All thy courage has been made to mix with the dust. Thy honour has been made to sleep a sleep from which it shall never wake again. Just open your eyes and see that the foundation of Islam has been shaken.

(2) Get up and see, Oh, my husband, that bombs have been dropped on the roof of Ka'aba. It is very sad, Oh! how the khilafat has been put to a new trouble. They have put an end to all your happiness and comforts for ever.

(3) See what atrocities have been committed in the Punjab. They have rendered many people homeless and destitute.

(4) We have been laid bare by the oppressions of the kafirs--yes, by the oppressions of the kafirs and their allies.

Review of the pamphlet in Urdu entitled Khwab Parishan, compiled by Muhammad Husain, published by Astafi Husain, Amroha, Moradabad, and printed at the Moradabad Printing House, Moradabad.

The following is a translation of the more important verses:--

Poem I--Described a dream about events on the Day of Judgement.

I found the entire population there perplexed.
I found every one ashamed of his deeds.
I then saw the paraphernalia of the Court of the King of Kings
I found tyrants and oppressors quaking.
Advancing further I found a crowd of children.
And an Englishman being harassed by them.
Stains of blood were visible on the skirts of all.
Bullet holes were to be seen on the collars.
I saw wounds on the chests of some and on the shoulders of others.
I wondered why they held their lives so sheap.
All of them drag the sahib (European) and bring him.
They go towards the Court of their Sahib (Master).
As soon as he approached near the Court of their Sahib hesitated.

One child said:--"O my innocent looking murderer
You can have any number of proofs, O murderer.
If you do not confess, O murderer, in open court.
Every limb will reveal your secret, O murderer.

I am the garden which was devastated by your hands.
We are the buds that you did not allow to bloom.
These are the looking glasses which you shattered with bullets. These are the chests on which you learnt target practice.

We are stories to hear which would crumble even stones to pieces. We are grains of the burnt granary of India.
Alas, O tyrant, we are the targets of your bullets.

When the nightingales began to complain, the fowler came.

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The source of injustice and tyranny, the originator of oppression came.
The tyrant came to seal the lips of complaint.
O unhappy one, you came with the message of death.
Alas, what murder of innocents, what destruction of subjects,
O this incitement to disorder in the name of preservation of peace.

My chest was the shield for the sword of the enemy.
My heart was meant to take in the lances (Thrusts) of tyranny
It was my head that was sacrificed for the defence of your honour.
It was my house which was ruined in the European war.
Had it not been for me there would have been no Paris or London(left)
The German Emperor would have been ruling over the whole of Europe.

Was not your Government without friend and helper,
Was it not the sword of my race in Europe,
Trusting to which your Government was free from fear.
A time there was that your greatness was in peril;
Not only your greatness, but your existence also was surrounded by dangers.
In sympathy with you, we let our homes be ruined.

You gave us the Rowlatt Act in exchange for our money.
And the jagir of Jallianwalla in ruturn for the sacrifice of our heads.
Alas, your race turned a deaf ear to our requests for repentance.

The coverings of Whose Ka'aba you have burnt.
You are to be produced in His Court.

Why are you afraid of the God of the Muslims.

Your oppressions were just now rampant.
Murder of innocents and oppression of subjects.

The sahib" decked with the ornaments of fetters and handcuffs.
The "Sahib" advanced as an officer of the Army of Hell.

Poem 2.--Again will appear over the holy places
The banner of prosperity of the Muslims waving.
If shoes continue to shower on the heads of the enemies in this way
They will come to their senses.
The prestige of Islam is so established these days
That every enemy of the religion is perplexed with fear.
O Indians, if your efforts last
The faded flower of swaraj will again become fresh.
How strange it is, monkeys are ruling over men.
Why has the position of these tyrants become so high.
Poem 3.--This is the command of God and the Prophet.
Give up service, O men of the army.

2?07

The Islamic law has given this verdict.
Give.................army.
Why do you eat the salt of tyrants.
Why do you drink the blood of your brothers.
Your face will be black on the Day of Judgment.

By serving the Christians,
Why do you take the lives of your brothers.

This Government will now last only a short time.
Do not obey its orders now.
Take up service of the religion of Islam.

Maulvis are going to jail.
They drink blood and eat sorrow there (suffer in silence)
The tyrannical Government practises tyranny.

You fired bullets at the green dome (Mausoleum of the Prophet).

Give..............Army
You burnt the screen of Ka'aba
You made blood flow in holy Mecca
The sanctity of the House of God was ruined.

You have snatched the crown of the Khilafat.

Give..................Army.
You have lifted the veils of women.

You have partaken of sinful morsels to the fill.
Give up serfdom of Britain.

You will repent after death (when sent to Hell).

Poem 4.--The souls of the Mophlahs are saying
We died in the agonies of asphyxia.

We were packed too closely in a railway (carriage).

They ought to have hanged us or imprisoned us.
They ought not to have sent us out of the world in this way.

We were awarded a unique punishment.

Selections from ... relating to non-cooperation and khilafat movement
Proscribed Literature: Urdu Presses (1922). 1920-

EXTRAXT FROM PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

C

10. G.O.No. 939 Dated, 14th November, 1922, Public:

531.

"Charkhe-ki-charrakh chun, etc:"
(The creaking of a spinning wheel). 268

This leaflet of 8 pages bears the picture of a charkha on its title page. It has been printed at the Muslim Press, Muradabad and published by Shaikh Abdur Rahim, Bookseller, Amroha Darwaze, Muradabad. It has been written by one---Shaikn Dildar Hussain Dildar, resident of Kashipure. It contains three national poems which are more or less anti-British. The following is a translation of a few important lines:--

P.1. None was aware that the sky will bring about such a change as to entrust the garden of India into the hands of savages.

P.2.1.1. When the industry in India is firmly established, we shall be able to shake the English by the humming of the charkha.

" 1.2. ~~When the in~~ We shall bear all oppressions and by the help of God we shall be able to blow off the enemies with the weapon of patience.

" 1. When the star of Swaraj would come to our rescue We shall efface the law of Government from the face of this earth.

" 1.6. Thy art though grinding us like a mill, we shall wipe out even thy name from the existence.

P. 3. You are in the habit of cheating.
You never fulfil your promise.
You have excelled all in this world.
Though, we have been your Government.
You drop sheels from the aeroplanes,
Your machine-guns cause the rivers of blood flow.

When you came to this country from England, you had no factory with you. You had nothing but coat and pant-- with you and you were loistering about with a lady by your side.

You have learnt a good lesson from India. This very country has made you a human being.

It educated you and made you civilized and taught you the art of Government.

India added to the beauty of England. It is through India that British rule was established.

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533.

URTI CHIRIYA.

THE FLYING BIRD.

This pamphlet covering 8 pages has been printed at Muslim Press, Muradabad and published by Shaikh Muhammad Amin, Bookseller, Muradabad. It contains three peoms the first of which is particularly directed against the Police.

~~Thisx~~ In This poem the Poet Noor exhorts his countrymen who are serving in the Police Department to give up their service on the plea that it requires them to press their fellow countrymen. He also states that Muhammadans ought not to serve in this Department under the present Government since their religions forbids them to do so. He ---- further advises them to sever their connection with the enemies of Islam. The other poems contain an appeal to Indians to promote the cause of Khilafat and to help in achieving Swaraj.

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GENERAL DYER AUR JALLIANWALA BAGH.

OR

GENERAL DYER AND JALLIANWALA BAGH.

This pamphlet coverning 16 pages has been printed at the Swarajya Printing works, Delhi, and published by the National Book Dept, Nai Sarai, Delhi. The title page bears a picture showing the scene of the spot where the firing was made by the order of General Dyer. The pamphlet contains a collection of poems written by nationalist poets describigg the atrocities' committed at Jallianwala Bagh. The first poem entitled" A mendicant's cry at Jallianwala Bagh" has been composed by one Lala Shagun Chand Raushan, B.A., of Panipat, the important lines of which are translated below:--

1(1) The calamity of Jallianwala will make us writhe with agony until the day of judgement.
How will this blood be washed out by the tears of sorrow?

1(2) Do not test the restlessness of the martyrs.
If they would heave a deep sigh, it would make the heavens tremble.

1(3) Even the tyrant and blood thirsty Dyer will be deeply moved if he happens to hear the wailings of orphans and widows.

1(5) He who fires at unarmed persons will also fall a victim to death some day or other.

1(6) He who has filled the hearts of enemies with the poison of oppression, will also make the clouds of mercy rain on us.

1(8) O afflicited Raushan, (nom de plume assumed by the poet) that day is not far of when the flag of liberty will be hoisted in India.

<u>Poem (2)</u>

' The cry of martial law' by
Munshi Abdul Khaliq, Khaliq of Delhi.

1.2. They caused rivers of blood to flow in such a manner that even the highest heaven cried out "God forbid!" They committed such atrocities as overshadowed even Halaker Khan.

1.4. No one was able to sit down and no one was able to escape. They (victims) included good and young men who were

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.made to sleep under earth.

1.5. One was lying dead on a dead body without a coffin and another was wallowing with pain caused by wounds. If there was any spark of life remaining in any person he was fired.

1.7. No complaints were listened to since there was no one to heave their story. If the Indians raised any question, they were subjected to the rigours of Martial law.

1.8. Such men as had been delicately nurtured were made to crawl on their bellies in lanes. They were lashed in such a manner that their bodies were swollen.

1.9. Those orphans who were weeping and wailing are now reduced to a pitiable condition. Those women who have become widown are now mourning in their homes.

Poem (3).

Martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh.

1.4. The fire of Dyer has caused considerable havoc. Hundreds of afflicited persons have sacrificed their lives for the sake of their country.

1.5. Bullets were showered on loyal persons in the form of arrows of death. How hearts were pierced by the shots of live coal?

1.7. The death of martyrs for their mother-country was sorely lamened. How the public were looking at the lives of those men?

1. How will that bride whose bridggroom lost his life in the riot, pass the remaining days of her life?

Poem (4)

An address to Dyer. By
Hakin Bilyan of Jananabad.

1.1. O tyrant Dyer, take a note of warning. Thy heart is harder even than steel.

1.5. O Dyer ! You have committed all sorts of atrocities and you have sunjected persons to imprisonment.

1.6. O Dyer! You will die and all your pomp and grandeur will vanish with you. Your glory will last only for a few days.

1.7. O Biryan! (Nom de plume of the poet)

It is our wish that Dyer may suffer death in a like manner.

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Poem (5)

"The accused has not been held murderer of innocent persons" by Pandit "arenjandas Ghukar.

1.3. Such a partiality has been shown that the accused has not even been declared a murderer of innocent persons.

1.5. O God! Victory and defeat lies in Thy hand. If they possess guns, we can raise tempests of our sighs.

Poem (6)

"The knife of the executioner will float in the form of a red fish" by Syed Mehdi Husain of Amhala.

1.4. They have invented all sorts of restrictions and punishments such as Martial Law, Jails, Capital punishment and transportation for life.

1.5. O nightingales! How can you expect pity from a hunter. Your cries will be of no avail.

1.6. Display your courage and bravery now since you have hitherto wasted your life by adhering to cowardice.

1.7. The tyrant himself will be drowned into the sea of the blood of India and the knife of the executioner will float in the form of a red fish.

Poem (7).
"Wonders of the New Ira"
by
Lala Lalchand Balak.

1.2. Yesterday those who were demanding Home Rule by posing themselves as home rulers, are today the rulers of the Education Department.

1.3. The other day those who were compelled to hear the order of imprisonment, are at present holding offices authorising them to issue such orders.

1.4. Those who were desirous of sacrificing even their lives as leaders of the nation, have today been the recipients of the title 'Sir' by becoming the supporters of the Government.

1.6. Look at the magic of the opinion of the public in that a barber has succeeded in becoming a member while a Rai Bahadur has failed.

1.79. Seeing the wave of liberty passing over the world, even the dead have come to life in India?.

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1.10. They are hastening to offer their heads in sacrifice. The jails have become temples for the patriots.

1.11. There is a constant incoming and out going of persons Taj (Tajuddin of Jubbulpore) has come out of the jail and Yaqub (Yaqub Hassan of Madras) has gone into jail.

1.12. Such persons as were keeping daggers, bows and arrows with them, have got fetters and handcuffs as ornaments.

1.13. Such colleges and Offices as were held in high esteem have now become detestable.

1.17. O Falak! The oppression of Dyer has become the cause of such a revolution that flowers have turned into stones and rubies into sparks of fire.

Poem No.(8)
by
Hakim Haziq Triloknath Azam.

"I wish I could see a prison".

1.3. As a matter of fact I have seen hundreds of jails of God. Come on, I should like to see your prisons also.

1.5. How does lightening fall on the barn of expectations? Come on, I am ready to receive the shot from your pistol.

Poem No.(9)
"If we heave a long sigh, we shall be able to cause a conflagration".
by
Mr. Krishen.

1.1. Not to speak of the earth, we shall move even the sky. If we would heave a long sigh, we shall set everything on fire.

1.2. We have come out with a coffin cloth tied round out neck. We shall bear all the sufferings that could befall us.

1.3. We shall not cry halt unless we have attained swaraja. It is our right and we shall not even hesitate to give our lives for that.

1.4. Whatever advice our leader Gandhi has given us, we shall translate into practice.

1.5. We don't care a bit even if the times right change, we shall pilot the boat of India safely to the bank.

Poem No.(10).
"His sword is ever hanging on our heads"
by
Lala Hari Das Phola.

1.3. Section 124 was never abolished. Its sword is always hanging on our heads.

1.4. The Deputy Commissioner has asked all the devotees not to sprinkle wine for fear of breach of peace.

1.10. O Bhola! May the curse of God be upon the enemies of the nation, who deserve death.

Poem No.(11)

"One who serves his country is regarded as a rebel and a traitor".

1.1. Now Government is resorting to repression and arresting persons.

1.2. Any one who adheres to his religion is regarded as a miscreant and a rebel and any one who serves his country is looked upon as a rebel and a traitor.

1.3. How can one dare speak out the truth? Sections 124 and 153 are sufficient to borment us.

1.4 There are so many laws in this country as are not found elsewhere.

1.5. One who speaks out the truth is looked upon as an enemy and one who flatters is called a loyal person.

1.6. That person who cuts the throat of his brother becomes a Khan Bahadur. That person who sympathises with his fellow brothers is an enemy.

1.7 How can one co-operate when punishments of incarceration, internment, and restriction on speech are in force.

1.8. The more you oppress us the better and you are at liberty to harase us.

1.9. It is on repression alone that the salvation of the oppressed depends. It is on account of repression that we have been awakened.

Poem No.(12)

"A few words to Lord Reading, the new Viceroy".

by

Lala Lalchand Falak.

1.1. If you at all care to cure the patient (India), it is expedient for you to administer medicine as quickly as possible.

1.2. You should introduce such a system of Government in this country as might remove the distinction between the rulers and the ruled.

1.10. If you are unable to punish Dyer, at least you will

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please stop his pension.

1.11. Since the Rowlatt Bill is the root cause of this riot, you will kindly repeat it.

1.13. If you find yourself unable to lead us safely to our goal at least you will be good enough not to place thorns on the way.

Poem No.(13)
"The time has come"

1.1. It is now time for you to get up and leave your drowsiness.

1.2. The time has approached when you should give up your lethargy. It is now time for you to break the talisman of bondage.

1.3. The time has come when you should gird up your loins and show your bravery.

1.4. The time has come when the name of India should shine. The time has come when the Ram Raj should take our what belonged to us yesterday.

11,6,7 & 8. The time has come when we in the name of God and following the principles of Gandhi, should practise non-cooperation and bear all sorts of hardships and calamities, so that, O Najin, Swaraj might be achieved and our country might be liberated soon.

Poem No.(14)
Waiting for the advent of Swaraj.
by
Lala Lalchand Falak.

1.1. Some day or other we shall be able to see swaraj, and once more we shall see Indians ruling over India.

1.2. Our nation will be liberated from the rule of foreigners. We shall not see our country dependent upon foreign countries.

1.3. The standard of equality and justice will be hoisted in India. We shall see the abolition of partiality about race and colour.

1.4. No foreign power will rule over territory on this side of the Hindu Kush. We shall not allow any one to levy tribute on India.

1.5. The efforts of the volunteers of liberty will attain success. We shall see the forces of the Congress victorious in all directions.

1.7. The Indians will be relieved of their troubles and

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and miseries we shall see decided improvement in the affairs relating to India.

1.8. No foreign goods will be allowed to be imported into India in large quantities. No grain will be allowed to be exported to foreign countries.

1.9. The destitute people will be able to earn their bread No orphans will become destitute.

1.10. The garlands of victory will be put round the neck of Lajpat and Gandhi. We shall see sacred India wearing a Crown.

1.11. We shall celebrate rejoicings for our liberty throughout India. Tilak Maharaj will also watch us with great joy from heaven.

Poem No.(15)

1.1. No one excels you in this world. We have seen enough of your rule!

1.2. You will not derive any benefit by introducing the--- Rowlatt Act. It will rather intensify distrust in yourselves.

1.3. We shall never forget your favour in the dropping of bombs from aeroplanes.

1.5. On the day of judgment before God the shedding of blood will be of no avail to you.

1.6. This Satyagrahs will remove all our troubles. O Gandhi! I wish you your movement every success.

Poem No.(16)
"The condition of India has now considerably changed".

1.2. The oppression of Dyer has produced quite a different effect. Both the communities are united.

X. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS. 277

"Swapnarprayanamu" (A Dream Journey) in verse written and published by N. Venkataramanayudu of Nellore and printed in the Andhra Patrika Press, Madras. G.O.No.904, dt.3-11-22, Public Department.

Swapnaprayanamu (A Dream-Journey)

A translation of the objectionable passages.

Page:5.stanza 1. The mother says to the dreamer: "You forget (your) brothers and the mother that gave you birth, having drunk milk from your infancy by hand-feeding." So saying she shed tears in grief.

Page 8: Stanza1. That sinless man (Lokamanya Tilak) sang the verse, "I will be taking birth in every age in order to protect the good, punish the vile, and establish righteousness.

Page10. stanza 1. Emancipation will be attained, if you separate (yourself) from wranglers, who intend to plunge men in deceit; fasten your mind to the teachings of the Mahatma, with a firm and true faith; and root out the might of the crowd of enemies(the British) with a pure and peaceful spirit. Of ~~the~~ what use are vain speeches.

2. One who is treacherous to the mother is far removed from deliverence. This dharma, which is declared in the Sastras, is difficult of attainment, for one who is treacherous to the Mahatma.

Page 11. stanza 1. the mother says:- "There are sons who, without considering that I am at any rate their mother, meditated treachery (to me), and have joined the enemies. I will not pine with grief, even if they remain (live) or drop out.

2. Those who are in front are the relations by marriage. They also are my beloved sons. They had left me, and put on those guises, having consented to do work for cooly, on behalf of the marriage parties.

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Page 11 and 12: stanza 3. Without considering whether they will weigh (rival) or not, they went to exercise authority with the dorais (the British) at the marriage. O lovely son! Send them (the British) away to the other side, and somehow earn a name. We must endure their pluck.

Page 16: stanza 1. The traveller says to the gardener: "I have heard that even if unable to subsist many families come down from various countries, you show them the right way, create work for them in your big garden, and support them.

Page 17: stanza 1. The gardener says to the traveller: "The strength of arm, which will be able to knock down even God Siva, who acts against (our family in war), and the force of tapas (austerity), which will oppose even Brahma, who has taken a vow are the innate virtues of our family.

Page 18: stanza 1. We never had the misfortune, to suffer the humiliation of falling under the hands of another wretch for hired labour, Our one garden is enough for a hundred or a crore (of men).

x. 2. Without saying neither the words "Give, I pray thee", nor the expression "I have nothing", our garden is enough to enable our family to give something to beggars; Nothing is wanting.

Page 20: stanza 1. Our garden is not a mere flower garden, but is a bundle of gems.

Page 21: stanza 1. While all behaved according to rules, each being responsible for his individual work, we were all happy in the cool

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(atmosphere) of this garden, without any famine at all.

2. The birds which live, eating the fruits in this place, and drinking the water here may be counted by thousands. Great ruin has befallen this garden to-day, which nourishes any number giving them the means of subsistence.

<u>Page 22: stanza 1.</u>

X X X At an evil time, only the day before yesterday , a monkey (an Englishman) happened to come, so much so, that the prosperity of our garden (India) became worthless, like puthless grain in an ear.

2. Being without a tail, that great monkey looked like a big human being. As it was a curious animal, our children admitted it, by taming it.

<u>Pages 22 and 23: stanza 3.</u>

The monkey would appear, as if it had trust, and sometimes it would not place faith (in them), but would leap to a distance. Leaping, it would look to the four directions through exhaustion, and would itself slowly approach. Approaching, it would bow down its head with humility, sit and moving aside, often salute. Saluting, it would reach the fruits thrown (to it), and after eating (them) would madly growl. It would startle and frighten the young; and when elderly persons should see it, it would move aside in fear. Observing, (one finds) its most wonderful pranks resemble the ways of men.

<u>Page 23: stanza I.</u>

By degrees, that animal became an exper

and approaching the young mango-trees, it would hang down. By leaps, it would reach the nutrees, and it would gently climb down, and enter the thickets.

2. It would so shake the bowers, that flowers dropped as from a shock. It wou[ld] often break the tender gummy twigs. Being confused it would run on the vine trellis. It would then swing on the creepers. It would greedily eat the fruits, while they are yet unripe. It would draw near, to oscillate the stems of the trees. It would frighten the birds perching all round; It would foolishly jeer.

Page 24: stanza 1.

While all the people remained passive, disregarding the wicked pranks of the new monkey; being naturally fickle, it began to roam about sportingly, as it inclined, unaware of secrecy and limit.

2. While some admitted it, considering it to be a curious animal; some others ventured to worship it, thinking that to enjoy its favour alone is a means of salvation (lit. a star). Alas! Is this not a new wonder!

3. Crowds of strange monkeys came graduall[y] one after another; and after wards gently by tens and hundreds and were overset, as if a basket had burst.

4. Our countrymen, being great scholars convived at it and left them (to themselves) saying; Let these monkeys also live like birds which subsist.

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having come from different continents.

5.Gradually the monkeys implanted themselve firmly here day by day, like the prickly-pear: becoming, with humility, in our midst, a race among men, What more isto be said!

Page 25: stanza 1.

The crowd of monkeys has become habituated to mix with, and move among us. Our people learned the lanuguage of the monkeys, and thus greatly beffriended them.

2.Though belonging to the race of monkeys, they had methodical understanding, and learning devices more than mankind, they were roaming about, seeking by tens the patronage of this man and that, according to the times.

stanza 3.Seeking the refuge of some saying,* there is no means oflife; holding out hopes to some saying, 'help us and we will do you good!; threatening some and making them tremble by saying, "we will bite and run over you"; and deceiving some by fradulent coquettry saying, "we must live without differences", that crowd of monkeys occupied good trees here and there in our garden, beautiful flower bushes, young mango trees of sweet fruit, and tanks of clear water.

Page 26: stanza 1.

While their wisdom, which was praised by the universe, was licked away by a worm; while their ancient honour rusted; and while their venerable glory was di[illegible] (be-fouled), men at last took to [illegible] the monkeys.

*the family has mult[illegible]

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2. That sinful race, which counts the rafters of the house in which it has eaten, pushed them aside to a lower row (order) than the monkeys; and began to get work done(by them) in various ways.

3. The men carried water to the flower plants, and the monkeys wore the flowers. Our men toiled for the crops (lit. green trees), and the monkeys enjoyed the yield. The men cultivated the fruit trees, and the monkeys ate the berries. The men sold the article and the monkeys derived the profit therefrom. The monkeys made rules to that effect, and pressed the men under the foot, without crushing them down. Without considering it to beacooly-affair, the evil-minded persons are elated with it, deeming it to be a highly elevated position. What does it profit, however much one tells to such men, as are unconscious of their self-respect?

Page 27: stanza 1.

Sometime after, the monkeys with the fatness of head, tried to play some simian prank, through arrogance.

2. Sin was born. Their very servants, with anger and spite, then stooped to commit a daring act, and without even thinking it to be a sin, they cut the throats of the monkeys as they c[illegible] (slaughter) the sheep.

3. The crowd of the vile monkeys

survived, dispersed, each in one directi[on] with humiliation and anxiety (lit. unsettled minds), screaming; and ranaway to their former abode.

Page 28: stanza 1.

X X X X A big monkey there said to another monkey, "You had better go, and humbly befriending them (the men), again request them to allow the monkeys their source of livelihood as before.x

stanza 2. It said to the monkeys "Give up your foolish pranks, and mad coquettry, and behave there in a manner agreeable to the gardeners; and ordered the old monkeys to go. But trembling, they (the monkeys) all said, they had not the heart to go to that garden.

3. We, of course, know the ways of the timid monkeys. When they find an opportunity, they venture to pounce upon us. When we pull, out and show the cane, they salaam (salute) us. When caned, muttering, they ~~they~~ run away.

Page 28 & 29: stanza 4.

One very deceitful monkey reentered, accompanied by some others (monkeys)

Page 29: stanza 1.

It said these sugared words: "We will never do acts displeasing to you. Your good is our good. The fickle-minded had done vile acts, and a dispute arose before All such rash deeds are (now) past."

2. "Do not remember the actions of our animals, mercifully excuse us." Thus it supplicated the big men, and began to hold the feet of those who did not

3. As it had implored again and agai[n]

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people said, 'very well', and the monkeys which think it a feast to have a bun (lit a cake boiled in steam) in their hands, have been as ever again.

4. The fraudulent monkey deceived the lads with words, and gaining them, began to rule the graden; while some men of those times considered it to be over-extremely powerful. None knows, how that despicable monkey happened to possess such strength.

Page 30: stanza 1. X X X Time and destiny being both favourable, (lit, having met together) to them, the monkeys grew powerful, and subjugated the men, celebrated for the mighty strength of their shoulder and the great potency of their intellect, by respecting and garlanding the man, who thus appeared to surpass him; by sending many fruits to a man's house, if he seem to make a disturbance again; by calling the man who appeared to be the one living with ten persons, and giving him a seat with (them); and by visiting the man who had obtained a name as an obstinate person, and granting him great authority

stanza 2. Our men (Indians) having made friendship with the monkeys. (English men) and practised (habituated to) all their ways from day to day X X X

3. One would wish to unite with the monkey, another to put on the guise of a monk[ey], one to play the games of a monkey, to chatter like the monkey: one t[o] relationship with the monkey, a

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grazeon the forage of the monkey; on learn the gait of the monkey, another have the looks of the monkey; and another

have the looks of the monkey; and another to
roam among the trees and hillocks, in the manner of the monkey, as time was an obstacl to their seeing, that all these roads were the ways leading to perdition.

Page 31: stanza 1.

The tribe of monkeys climbed, by degrees, one tree after another. Leaving aside the question of ruining men (lit crushing the myrobalam and throwing it into the mouths of men), they began to look upon human beings as mean worms.

2. The man folded his hands before the inferior monkey which looked up saying, that fruits were not sent to it. He spoke kind words to the selfish monkey which nodded its head saying, that he did not stand on seeing him. He entered the corners, when the old monkey growled saying, that he did not come to see him. He humbly submitted himself (lit, bent down and yielded) to the wicked monkey, which ran upon him saying, that flowers were not sufficient for him. To the extent to which all men, from that day to this day, have stepped aside, bowing and bowing again, out of fear or reverence, to the same extent they have risen to their heads, and have begun to grind pepper (there)

Page 32: stanza 1.

Is it not on account of some of our prude men having joined the monkeys, that such disaster has arisen? It is like the of wood of the field which goes and

the axe, and causes ruin [illegible] the [illegible] its own caste (family).

2. Many of our family having thought that peril will befall (them), if they do not unite together (as one), and drive the monkeys to a distance, have become obstinately pertinacious, and girded up their loins.

Page 32: stanza 3.

The members of our caste (family) are meeker than the sheep, and if, out of rage, they stand making their eyes inflame with wrath, they will not be inferior even to God Hari, in great strength.

Page 33: stanza 1.

My great brethren make menacing sounds out of arrogance saying, 'Did we not pursue and drive this wicked crowd of monkeys formerly, by beating (them) with a club'. That is not a great burden to them. But do you not know the saying of the elders of ancient times, that it is sinful to slay monkeys?.

2. To a man of wise understanding, non-violence (lit. the absence of torture) alone is the supreme virtue. There is no greater sin than hurting the living beings. There should be complete equality everywhere. Saying 'stand, 'stand', I stopped them till to-day.

3. By being addicted to the taste (of th[e] garden), the monkeys cannot leave the garden and go. I have yet admonishe[d] (them); but, tormented by avarice, [they] will not listen to my words.

4. On saying this, the ... asked him, 'O Mahatma! Th... by you, still the army of monkeys d... not go. It is a sin to drive them by beating with a club. In what way, si... can this burdensome act be performed (lit. set right) ? 'There-upon the ascetic replied, 'I will show (you) a very easy way'.

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5. If my brethren who are skilful, and are able to carry out their vow of action stop, at one stroke (lit, time), nourishing the fruit-trees, making the flowers blossom, growing the crops after digging the channels and letting water, and worshipping the monkeys wit... flowers and twigs, can the monkeys remain here?

Page 34: stanza 1.

When the ascetic said so, a loud ... was produced in the sky saying, ... Victory'. ~~Victory!~~. and there em... heroes of war, many (lit. ten tho... in number.

2. Those heroic men possessed huge bodies adorned with shoulders, resembling the trunks of elephants. They had stiff beards, were gaudy with sharp mustache which inspired terror into the enemy. They had turbans, which shone with th... glory of the cresent (lit. the tende... moon) ornament. They had long coats which adorned them from the neck t... the foot. With lotus-like hands, ... were adorned with very tremulo...

and whetted swords, those ex...
~~with very tremulous,~~ persons sa...
ascetic, and said in a fierce speech(as follows).

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Stanza.3. You have not yet given your command. The itching of the shoulder has increased. O, God! The Protector of the World! Our swords dreadful in the art of rolling on the ground the throats of the great multitude of enemies (the British), extending their tongues again and again, are wishing for victims! O! Mahatma (Gandhi) What is your command? Let us know.

Page 35: Stanza 1. The ascetic smiled a smile, which spilt a new splendour. O! Men of great mind, and said to them, 'Be a little patient. Let the other brethren also come, and join!

The traveller heard the words of the ... and said.

Page 36: stanza 1. Your brethren are the chief heroes in ... world. They are sinless, and shine wit... sleepless strength of arm. They are many. They possess good intellect and virtues. They are celebrated for the other (spiritu... knowledge. Why should there be any doubt, about any obstacle to the continuance of your endeavour.

2. On saying so, the ascetic turned towards me. X X X with my hands raised and joined in salutation, I said, 'What O, Mahatma!

3. The Mahatma then commanded me saying, 'Si... O young poet, divine song of awakining, ... with thought, so that the rest of th... ing brethren may awake!

The Song of Awakening.

4. Awake! Arise! Awake! My de
X X X (You have) slept suffi
(long). X X X.

5. The directions have become white (i.
it has dawned). The faces of the lamp
buds (the flames of the lamps) have
turned white. The whole life of darkness
has been ruined. Why should you sleep an
longer? Wake up! Lo! The Sun (lit. the
world's kinsman) is coming. The owls
have got vexed, and started in groups
to their nests. Why should you sleep any
longer? Wake up!

Page 37: stanza 1.

Why do you say again and again, that yo
are enjoying the pleasure of a dream
which is had in sleep. Mad brethren! Wi
not prudent men laugh to hear the wo
you utter.

2. Open your eyes and look at the wor
little. Why do you, forgetting your
sleep still. Though clapped on the
and called, fearing others, why do you
not answer to (my) call.

3. The ascetic saying, 'Your song of awaken
ing deserves the praise of the meek. It
preaches sapid things. It is a source
of auspiciousness', patted my shoulder
saying, 'awake', and I awoke.

4. That flower garden, that gold chariot,
that meritorious Lokamanya that asc
that traveller,
appeared, as i
I was rem

Page 38: stanza.1.

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EXTRACTS

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XV. EXTRACTS [illegible] OM THE PROSCRIBED ENGLISH BOOKS AND [illegible]

Letter [illegible] ied "Indian People" by Mahendra Pratap Sin[illegible]
G.O.No.1[illegible]4, dt. 20th December, 1922 (Mis.) (Confide[illegible]

INDIAN/PEOPLE.

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FRIENDS,

It is told here that the English boast of their vi[illegible] Well, the[illegible] could do what they like where the real fact [illegible] concealed. But the whole world knows that the English [illegible] in the ver[illegible] beginning of the great war. They were tota[illegible] Antwerp. I[illegible] was only with the help of France that they [illegible] hidden in [illegible]renches for some time. And if the fresh Ame[illegible] had not co[illegible]e in the field and if the Italians had not s[illegible] extraordin[illegible]ry feats of valour at the last moment, the G[illegible] won the gr[illegible]at war.

The my[illegible]h of the English power was exploded as ea[illegible] the Transwa[illegible] war. And now the English rule is shake[illegible] Look! Ire[illegible]nd quarrelled and got her home rule. Egy[illegible] her anger [illegible]d got semiIndependence. Afghanistan fou[illegible] rightful p[illegible]ce in the circle of Free nations. And a[illegible] the the pe[illegible]eful movement of the disarmed Indians the [illegible] is powerl[illegible]

Indi[illegible] however, can-not now remain aloof from o[illegible] drama. [illegible] is now developing into some new groups[illegible] against [illegible]nd. It is in the interest of France an[illegible] together. [illegible]rmany and Russia have become friends. [illegible] speculati[illegible] and waiting for a bargain. Italy migh[illegible] But poor [illegible] and fears every new trouble. She wants [illegible] body and nob[illegible]ly believes her any longer.

It is ve[illegible] fine to sit at the spinning wheel du[illegible] time and I s[illegible]cerely hope that India shall faithfu[illegible] kind instruct[illegible]ons of Mahatma Gandhi so long as Pea[illegible]

However [illegible] shall be extremely foolish to sit [illegible] old women wh[illegible] manly (and I shall also add woma[illegible] to grasp the [illegible]ly sword.

I hate [illegible]dshed. I have no passion fo[illegible] religion o[illegible] e. But when storm rages [illegible]

and when the

Under e

her perfe

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hesitates

I say

the strong

Indian.

I rec

itself. Y

you loose

Do no

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try to be ndependence. In

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authoritie will have to accept s

Congress. o not believe the selfish

moves fir combination. I say, do not

with evil

fear and t you to rise as soon as one anot

Sub have already lost one opportunity du

colonels again you shall suffer bitterly for it

The whol ry to fix date of the general rising. It

able edu one district or town or any one single

advise t ace. Try to take the lead. If you are

We shal second or the third. Follow in any cas

National volunders in each centre shall imprison the l

Zamindars orand shall carry on administration in the

Do not distthere should be no civil war. All must ob

has made Chand takes possession of the government.

Protect ople, they shall all disappear in course

create an 't get impatient in any case. Birth of a

a privat majors and jamadars should at onc

It all other Indian Officers s

dian army however

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no quarrel with the Engl s

respect for France, Japan, Italy and Ame

for Turkey, Afhanistan, ussia and German

to live peacefully with all the nations of the

stroy the foreign rule in In a. It is a holy d

of all mankind.

is a land of sages. India is a home of religions. Indi

nglish laides and children. India shall give sufficie

English army to lay down arems. And if they shall give

shall be treated as guests and shall be t to England

quitely. Woe to him, however, who resists new India. They sh

be annilated who will fight against India's new gove

Ruing rajas and maharajas, nawabs and mullicks sha

unmolesed in their private boundaries. But those rulin

shall sow signs of treachery shall be arrested and treate

criminas. Their chiefships shall be given to their relatives.

ful Prines shall be honoured.

Ordr shall be kept through out India. Lotting and buring s

be crim against Independent India. All the present Indian Offic

shall be onfiemed and promoted. All the present laws, india

interest shall remain in force till new ones are enacted. Grad

however tter order of things shall come. Tenants or the land

laboure shall become proprietors of all such land that they till

Ev family shall possess a permanent residence. And still

the lan rds and house propreitors will get a proper income fr

their p erty. No one shall suffer. All shall enjoy the frui

the happ hange. Please read the programme of the Happiness

In end to be true to the facts I must add that sinc

December 5 a Provisional Government of India exists som

the fron rs of India. It is trying its best to bring a

freedom o dia. And I have no doubt that at a very

shall have fect independence. But you should n

name. Thi sional government is only a

National s under a fitting name,

RA/ 15-4-18 /18/RM